


Addresses and Messages
ARTHUR CAPPER
Governor of Kansas



Lincoln

1854

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Arthur Capper

Addresses and Messages

by

ARTHUR CAPPER

Twenty-Second Governor
of Kansas

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Arthur Capper As War Governor

Arthur Capper's salient service to his native state was performed as its War Governor. He was elected governor in 1914, assuming his office in January, 1915, four months after Germany's invasion of Belgium. Even then the war in Europe had thrown its dark shadow across the world and far-seeing men sought to penetrate it and to know the future as it must affect America.

Anticipating the inevitable extension of the conflict, Governor Capper on March 15, 1917, even before war was declared, summoned leading citizens to the State Capitol to constitute a State Council of Defense. It was after this model that the National Council of Defense, with its branches in all the states, was later patterned. At the first regular meeting of the Kansas Council of Defense, shortly after war was declared, Governor Capper made an address asserting Kansas' united determination to get behind the national government with all her power and resources, and the state's subsequent supplies of money, food and men confirmed the soundness of the governor's interpretation of public feeling.

The duties of every governor, already heavy, were quadrupled by the entrance of the nation into the war. Especially was this true of Governor Capper, who from the outset of his public career had followed the "open door" policy—that is, making the governor's office a place of welcome to even the humblest citizen. The executive office now became the agency for operating the machinery of the selective service law by which the great army was brought into existence, and this alone greatly increased the governor's duties. As a consequence there was not a day that the governor's office was not crowded with visitors who came to appeal to him for his influence and help.

The patriotic meetings which were held thruout the state were a heavy draft on the War Governor's time. Not a day passed that a half dozen or more requests for speeches in various parts of the state were not received. Even from other states came similar calls. During the year following the declaration of war, Governor Capper made more than 300 patriotic addresses and spoke at meetings in 102 of the 105 counties of the state. In addition, he wrote numerous letters to the President, to the Food Administrator, and to various members of the President's Cabinet, urging that the men who were called to war have the cleanest and most wholesome surroundings, both physical and moral, that it was possible to supply at the camps where they trained, and he was none the less zealous in appealing for a square deal for the men who grew the food on the farm with which the army was fed. In the following pages will be found excerpts from speeches, messages, letters and proclamations dealing with these multifarious war questions, from the time of the sinking of the Lusitania down to the close of the war, all of which make up a part of the record of Arthur Capper as a War Governor.

M. M.

WAR ADDRESSES
AND
MESSAGES



KANSAS AND THE LUSITANIA.

From a Statement Made by Governor Capper on May 10, 1915, Following the News of the Sinking of the Lusitania.

To the Editor of the Chicago Tribune:

Replying to your inquiry of May 10: The wanton massacre of innocent American non-combatants by the destruction of the Lusitania in utter disregard of all rules of civilized warfare has shocked our people beyond measure. Kansas is happily free from the spirit of jingoism; the sentiment of the state is overwhelmingly against war and we should greatly deplore any hasty action that would tend to involve this nation in the wicked and unnecessary contest that is wasting all Europe; but our national honor must be maintained; our flag must command the respect of every belligerent and the life of every American citizen must be held sacred on every sea and in every land. The war lords of the earth must learn now that "strict accountability to Washington" is not an idle phrase.

The people of Kansas, realizing that President Wilson is confronted by the gravest crisis in this country since the secession, have every confidence in his courage, wisdom and discretion, and I am happy to pledge to him the state's loyal support in whatever course his good judgment shall dictate that the government shall pursue in maintaining our national honor.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

KANSAS BUCKLES ON THE ARMOR.

From an Address at the First Formal Meeting of the State Council of Defense, Topeka, April 17, 1917.

You have been called together to effect an organization to be known as the Kansas State Council of Defense, charged with the duty of organizing the resources of Kansas, men and wealth, in the defense of the nation in the war which we are now waging in behalf of freedom and peace. I need not dwell upon the gravity of the situation. You realize that having entered the war America must do its utmost to win; and every loyal citizen must stand ready to give his all, if necessary, to the success of our cause. Comparatively few of us will be called upon to enlist; the brunt of battle will be borne by one or two per cent of our population, but there is not a man nor woman in Kansas who cannot do something, and it is the duty of this committee so to organize and mobilize the state that every citizen may be able to do his full part in the gigantic task which we have undertaken. The industries which supply food and clothing for the army and which sustain our people at home and help support our allies abroad, are rendering a service no less than that performed by our men in the field and on the sea. As a matter of fact we all recognize that the feeding of the famine-threatened world is the first and most important duty of loyal Americans.

This is especially true of Kansas and the Middle West. We must produce in the Mississippi Valley not only food for the United States, but the maximum surplus for the armies and peoples abroad, and it is very necessary that we organize for the work and go about it in a systematic, business-like, efficient manner.

I shall not attempt to outline to this Council its method of procedure, nor to define the scope of its activities. The plan of organization and work calls for your best consideration. I can only urge upon you the importance of dispatch in all you undertake. I take it for granted that you will divide the Council into sub-committees to deal with specific problems and that you will call to your aid on committees any citizen or any officer of an institution, state or denominational, whose services you need. A request from this Council for assistance should be considered a demand by every loyal citizen.

It seems to me that you will be able to work most effectively thru local committees, as it is, of course, impossible to cover the state thoroly from here. I suggest, therefore, that you organize in every county of the state a County Council of Defense, with similar councils in the larger towns; this state council acting in advisory and supervisory capacity, but depending upon the local councils to carry out the details of the propaganda. It seems to me that it is only in this way we can reach every community and neighborhood.

Among the problems requiring immediate attention, I will mention these:

(1) There is shortage of many kinds of seeds, especially potatoes, beans and peas, and in many instances the seeds of corn and kafir are of low quality. A complete seed survey should be made quickly and arrangements effected for testing all seeds that will be used. We cannot afford to run risks.

(2) Many farmers will be hampered in extending their operations by the lack of ready funds for the purchase of seeds and needed equipment. The farmers of Kansas must employ all available labor-saving machinery that will enable them to plant and cultivate the larger acreage and more thoroly till and care for the acreage planted. I suggest that a sub-committee be directed to organize the bankers of the state with the object of devising means of putting

at the command of farmers who may need it, ample funds to enlarge their operations.

(3) Farm labor. Every effort must be made to employ all available labor. The state Bureau of Labor can doubtless co-operate with you in mobilizing the unemployed. Boys from our high schools and colleges and others who are not eligible for military service, should be encouraged to enlist in this important branch of national service. Our people must be impressed with the fact as expressed at the St. Louis conference that "the man who tills the soil and supports the soldiers in the field and the families at home is rendering as noble and patriotic a service as is the man who bears the brunt of battle." President Wilson has joined in this appeal for farm labor and service upon the farms for the purpose of providing an adequate food supply, and it must be made as honorable as enlistment in the army and navy. I think it probably would be well to organize volunteers for this purpose.

(4) The work of organizing boys' and girls' clubs must be pushed. The extension department of both the agricultural college and the university will assist in this. The propaganda for the utilization of back yards and vacant lots in the cities and towns must be continued, and we must safe-guard against a waning of interest when the days get warm and enthusiasm runs low. We must continue gardening thruout the summer.

(5) A systematic effort should be made to encourage farmers to increase the number of livestock on their farms. Hogs should be bred for fall litters, and late as it is, more poultry should be hatched. The Kansas farmer can well afford to increase his holdings in sheep. It has been shown that by liberal feeding of heifer calves through the first winter it is feasible to have them drop calves at two years of age instead of three as at present. On the 200,000 heifers in Kansas at the present time this would mean an increased calf crop next year of 160,000.

(6) It is not certain what action the government will

take in regard to the regulation of food prices, but without waiting for that, this council should take steps to discourage speculation in food products and the forcing of prices beyond reason by exploiters. The shortage of food of itself will impose a sufficient burden upon the consumer without arbitrary increase of prices from motives of greed. The man who attempts to exploit the people in such a time as this, especially by means of the necessities of life, is an enemy of his country.

(7) I believe a traffic committee should be appointed to co-operate with the railroads of the state in effecting the most expeditious and economical transportation of food stuffs and equipment and supplies necessary to production. I am sure the railway officials of Kansas may be depended upon to render the best possible service. The people must co-operate with them.

(8) Care of dependents. The federal government is making an effort to enlist only single men, but many of these have relatives who are dependent upon their earnings for support. A systematic effort must be made to see that no one in Kansas dependent upon an enlisted man suffers. Every community in the state should have a relief committee to attend to this work.

(9) Household economies. It is the food-stuffs left over after our requirements are satisfied that will win this war. It may be necessary for us to restrict our requirements. Kansas can do almost as much in the prevention of waste as by increasing the production of her farms. This council should undertake a state-wide campaign in the interest of home economics, educating our people to a greater utilization of food; economies in purchasing and more scientific preparation. We must make economy in the kitchen and at the table a fashion, and extravagance and useless luxury bad form. It is of especial importance that well-to-do families be impressed with the necessity of conserving our food supply.

(10) It would be well for the council to co-operate with

the state and local Red Cross Associations in promoting the noble work which they are doing.

(11) The National Council of Defense has asked that the mayors of all cities make a survey of property, including mills, elevators, stock yards and railway terminals that should be given special protection during the war. Home guards should be organized in every city. The council should call for such survey and report to the proper authorities any cases in which the local government cannot provide adequate protection.

(12) Enlistment. It should be a part of the work of this council to encourage enlistment in the army and navy. I am sure Kansas will readily respond to a formal call for volunteers, but a committee of the council should be charged with the work of encouraging the enlistment of those who can best be spared from productive pursuits. We do not want to demoralize our industries, especially those concerned with the production of food.

These are only a few scattering suggestions on the work before you. I know that every member of this council appreciates the need for prompt and efficient action. Kansas must do more than send her full quota of soldiers to the field. We must produce and conserve. We must save at home and create a surplus to send abroad. We must give the nation loyal service in time and effort and sacrifice in order that Kansas may not fail in her full duty to the sacred cause of freedom and liberty.

KANSANS AND PREPAREDNESS.

From an Address at the City Auditorium, Introducing President Woodrow Wilson on the Occasion of His Visit to Topeka, Feb. 2, 1916.

The people of the United States today face a problem of governmental policy serious in its nature and momentous in its effect upon our ultimate destiny. So vital, so

serious, so momentous is it, that it transcends all partisan consideration, all personal prejudice. We must bring to it our soberest, sanest and wisest thought—with this one idea in mind: What is best for ultimate America? Nay, the question even is broader than that: What is best for the people of the earth—for the human race?

The distinguished gentleman who is our guest and who will address us this afternoon, is honored and respected and beloved by the American people, not only because he is our President, but because of those qualities of heart and mind which endear good men to their fellows. He has spoken for peace among the nations as we would speak for it. He has honorably and steadfastly kept us out of the terrible conflict in Europe. He has sat undismayed on the hottest lid that has seated any President since Lincoln.

Many of us are not in accord with the program of vast armament, with all its hazardous consequences, and the theory of a chance or a possible foe. But we welcome the fullest discussion, and we feel the deepest respect and sympathy for the head of the nation in this grave hour. We sincerely desire to avoid embarrassing him; we earnestly wish to do all we can do to help a policy that shall result in the greatest good to our people and to the world.

And whatever our opinions in regard to armaments, this day we Kansans, all, are for President Wilson—and for Mrs. Wilson, too. We extend them a cordial, warm-hearted Kansas welcome.

Kansans are a peace-loving people. We maintain an efficient National Guard which ranks well with the militia of other states, but for thirty-one years that guard has not been called to active service—a longer period of freedom from riot and turmoil than any other state has experienced.

We are not a craven people, we are deeply and intensely patriotic. In the Civil War Kansas contributed a larger number of volunteers to the Union army, in proportion to its population, than any other state. We are not afraid to fight

if we must; but we hope that necessity will never more arise and we pray we shall not be led into temptation.

It is with great pleasure that I introduce to the people of Topeka and of Kansas the President of the United States.

PREPARE NOW FOR WAR CONDITIONS.

From an Address to a Pre-War Conference Held in the Governor's Office, Topeka, Kan., March 15, 1917.

With the danger of America's participation in the war becoming more grave every day, it surely is a part of wisdom—of sound business sense as well as patriotism—for us to stop a moment and take stock of our resources; to face the situation and to decide if the extraordinary condition in which we find ourselves does not call for a method of procedure somewhat out of the ordinary and unusual. A clear understanding of the situation in regard to the world's food supply and market conditions, and a frank interchange of thought by such men as are here assembled will lead to more intelligent effort in meeting what threatens to become a serious condition.

I am thoroly convinced that business foresight counsels a speeding-up of production; the world needs every pound of foodstuffs that we can produce, and the world is ready to pay for it; so patriotism aside, business sense says "Produce it!"

I hope you will give due consideration to the potential possibilities of the cultivation of vacant lots in cities and towns and the growing of a larger portion of the family food supply on the farm. A number of Kansas towns are already arranging for the use of vacant tracts of land; this should be encouraged in a systematic manner.

I trust that this conference may outline a constructive program, based on sound economic principles, embodying suggestions of what to grow and the best methods of grow-

ing; the securing of adequate farm labor; the economical marketing of farm products; the financing of the producer who is hampered by lack of capital, and such other points as may occur to you as pertinent to a larger agricultural production in Kansas in the immediate future.

We all realize, I am sure, that we must approach these questions in a sane, businesslike manner; keeping in mind that the farmer is a business man, governed by the same motives as munition-makers and other business men. It is his business, his duty, to make his farm yield the largest possible income. If our deliberations and suggestions are to carry any weight whatever, they must be based upon that.

KANSAS WAS SETTLED BY FIGHTING MEN.

Address at the Annual Convention of Woodmen of the World, at Pittsburg, Kan., April 10, 1917.

Kansas stands for a league to enforce peace and for the enforcement of law between nations. But it is and always has been a fighting state. It was settled by soldiers and fighting men. Just a handful of pioneers were in the little band that held a horde of savage foes at bay and later fought a bloody four-years war on the border to make Kansas a free state. None of these men had to be drafted.

After them came the real settlers of Kansas, the 128,000 or 130,000 veterans who took up homes here or went into business here after the Civil War. They volunteered for that war and then they volunteered for Kansas, for they underwent many hardships in the then young state.

And let me tell you what will be telling you no secret: Kansas is ready now to more than fill its quota in this war, and the young men who are to fill it are descendants of these volunteer soldiers of the 60's. I am in a position to know that Uncle Sam won't have to draft or conscript these young men to get them to fight for him as heroically as their fath-

ers or their grandfathers did before them. They will beat him to it if he will give them half a chance. There will be 50,000 volunteers in Kansas just as quick as President Wilson calls for them.

The one thing, I discover, of which these fine young fellows are proudest is that their fathers served the country in their day not because they had to but because they wanted to. They have always heard that to be drafted was to be disgraced.

Drafting an army is properly a last resort. It is not the way to begin a war. But now that war has come there is only one sentiment in Kansas or in the nation, and that is to stand loyally and unitedly behind the government at Washington. In spirit we are already a nation in arms. Uncle Sam need not compel his young men to fight for him when they are willing, ready and glad to offer him their lives. But when the war is over they want to lay aside the sword and again take up the peaceful occupations of life, not remain as a cog in a military machine.

KANSAS ALWAYS READY TO FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT.

From Memorial Day Address at Wichita, May 30, 1917.

I wish I could talk to you in an optimistic way of the future of the war. I should like to say to you that in all probability the war will end in six or eight months, but the sooner we awaken to a realization that we are in the greatest war the world has ever known, that we are into it up to our necks, that it is now just as much our war as it is the war of the French, the English and the Germans; that the sooner we become aroused to the seriousness and enormity of the task which now is ours; and that the war cannot possibly end inside of two or three years, the better it will be for us as a people and as a nation.

I have no uneasiness over what Kansas will do. Kansas has always been ready to fight when there was fighting to be done. We sent more men to the Union army between the years '61 and '65 in proportion to our population, than any other state in the Union. During that war when our total number of voters was only 17,000, we contributed 21,000 enlisted men to that struggle.

Our President, our government, have been patient. But there comes a time when patience is futile, when it is wrong. If we are to maintain American honor, American freedom, all those things we hold dearer than life itself, there is only one thing for us to do and that is to get behind the government unitedly, loyally, whole-heartedly. What we think might have been done or what we think ought to have been done does not concern us now. Our plain duty, whatever our political creed, whatever our place of birth, whatever our opinions, is now to give the national government the best there is in us—to give it unsparing, loyal service. This war is not going to end until we end it. We must bring the world from murder back to peace. There has been no finer cause to fight for since time began. It is holy and you are called. There is a place and a duty for every one of us. Whatever that duty may be, and wherever it may be, let us resolve to go to it with a will, Kansas fashion and undismayed.

WE'VE GOT TO LIMIT GREED.

From an Address at the Annual Meeting of the Fraternal Aid Union, Topeka, Kan., April 30, 1917.

It was discovered last week that while potatoes were selling for something like 16 cents a pound in New York, and not a great deal less in other big cities, 3,000 cars of potatoes were held on track in Chicago by speculators to boost the price still higher. It also was discovered the same week that 200 cars of eggs were standing in Chicago terminals while

the food speculators who owned them "made the market."

This sort of manipulation is criminal. It is a crime against the consumer and the producer, for it lessens consumption and causes unstable markets. It is a crime against the public welfare, for it causes deprivation and suffering to those least able to bear it—the small wage-earner and his family—a class comprising about half the population of the United States. It is a crime against government, for it incites food riots and other disorders having grave consequences. I am not in favor of capital punishment, but prison is too good for such men.

It is important for town people to know that the farmer gets none of the high profit in foodstuffs. A 50 per cent increase is always tacked on to his products as soon as they leave his hands, and the speculators double and triple this price. The producer has no hand in the present holdup. The products of last harvest long ago passed out of his hands. He has profited by none of the tremendous advances since that time.

We have got to put some limit on human greed in this country. I have made an urgent appeal to the President and to the federal trades commission for action to stop this exploiting of the necessities of life. In the meantime I shall use all the power and prestige of the governor's office to check such holdups, so far as the state of Kansas can check them.

I believe the government should seize and dispose of all large stocks of foodstuffs held for speculative purposes in times of stress, paying the speculator the price he paid and no more, and punishing the speculator by both fine and imprisonment. He would be bound to get in jail then, because no judge could let him off with a fine and a moral lecture. How much do such fellows care for fines or lectures? It may be, too, we should limit profit, making it unlawful to hold food stocks beyond a certain percentage of rise.

It ought to be accounted treason in time of war, if at no other time, for speculators to starve the people by putting

prices on products impossible for anyone to pay except the wealthy. Besieging armies frequently starve an enemy people into submission, but then the people have only to surrender to get food. The American food gambler, whom the country defends and protects in time of war, shows his compatriots less mercy. He gives them no alternative. They must starve or pay. He treats them worse than a foe would treat them and he is a greater enemy to his country. He is the real Benedict Arnold. In time of war, many a man has been hanged for less to the great benefit of the country.

AN APPEAL FOR CLEAN CAMPS.

*From an Address at Clay Center, Kan., Opera House,
May 25, 1917.*

Our Kansas boys are responding to their country's call in the way Kansas always responds in national emergencies. The war department records at Washington show that Kansas is ahead of all other states in filling its quota for the army, for the navy and for the National Guard. By the end of this year 30,000 of our finest, cleanest, manliest boys—the flower of the state's young manhood—will be marching with the colors.

The mothers and fathers of Kansas are offering these brave sons in the true Kansas spirit—in the spirit of heroism and sacrifice and devotion to their country.

Now in that same spirit, in the name of these loyal fathers and mothers, and in the name of the best citizenship of Kansas and all that is right and just, I am demanding of President Wilson and the War Department that every power of the federal government, civil and military, be invoked and exercised to guarantee to these boys the best possible environment, moral and physical, that they may be returned to their homes at the close of the war sound, clean, wholesome, sober men. I am demanding that Congress and the War

Department maintain a safety zone of not less than 10 miles around these camps, in which the traffic in liquor and vice shall absolutely be prohibited by the government.

This much, at least, is due these boys, is due these mothers and fathers, is due the people of Kansas, the state which has done more than any other to maintain and promote the highest standards of decency and sobriety in the daily life of its people.

The records of former wars show that conditions of intemperance and vice surrounding the camps, have been more deadly to the boys at the front than the bullets of the enemy.

These 30,000 Kansas mothers should not be called upon to suffer their sons in the springtime of their young manhood, to be made the sport or the spoil of the insidious agencies of drunkenness and disease. These mothers have a right to insist—and I know they are insisting, because already I have had hundreds of letters from them—that camp surroundings be kept free from these contaminating and debauching influences; that their boys shall not be considered fair prey by the moral pests and parasites of society, and that they shall not be returned to them broken, degraded and shattered, physically and morally.

And so I have urged the powers at Washington to give ear to this appeal from the mothers of Kansas, an appeal, it seems to me, that cannot and will not be denied.

NOW DRAFT THE MONEY BAGS.

*From an Address to the Kansas Retailers' Association,
Topeka, Kan., June 19, 1917.*

Uncle Sam has asked and promptly received from every young man in the nation, a quit-claim deed on his life. Parents have surrendered to the nation's call, hostages dearer to them than life itself. They have reared and educated these sons by years of stinting and self-denial.

They have expected to have them near as a solace and a comfort in the years of that friendless and lonely old age which comes to all who are not cut off in their time of usefulness.

The homes of the nation are offering this blood sacrifice while home purses are being taxed as never before to maintain these fighting legions.

The people as a whole are ungrudging in their support of the war. It is the money bags that are slackers. Uncle Sam has called for 7 billions of American dollars for war expenditures this year, but big money is not fighting, yet. We have drafted the lives, but we haven't drafted the money bags. American wealth has been called on to hold up its end of the war, but is protesting, cringing, shirking, hiding out.

So far, Uncle Sam's war-tax bills exact far more of the means of the man or family with small income, which has given a son or sons to the war, than it is exacting from the coupon-clipper and the war-fat trust. The Senate finance committee has learned that the enormous sum of 4 billions of dollars in war profits was made last year by the Steel trust, the Powder trust, the Packing trust and others. Let those who are profiting by war pay the costs of the war, or at least their share of them.

Congress is proposing to take only 25 per cent or less of the excess profits of big business. It proposes a tax of 40 per cent or less on millionaire incomes. To have a million a year coming in and being obliged to live twelve months on \$600,000 of it, after Uncle Sam has taken his 40 per cent, does not seem a hardship to the family that strips itself of sons and money in this death-grapple for human freedom.

Compared with the heavy sacrifice of love and treasure demanded from 999 out of every 1,000 American homes, the millionaire contributes nothing. But he and big business are begging off on that.

England at the beginning of the war conscripted 50 per

cent of all war profits. England now is taking 75 per cent. Our money bags, the fattest in all the world, squirm and squeal at a 25 per cent tax on war profits and the too moderate tax on incomes.

No matter what we do, the people will have to shoulder the heaviest burden in this war. But in the name of justice, fairness and commonsense, let us have something approximating a square deal. The people will be a tower of strength to Uncle Sam if they feel satisfied he is doing his best to make his war burdens equitable. Let him tax to the disappearing point incomes above \$100,000. Take half, or all, of excess profits. Tax high rents, rich franchises, idle land holdings. Such taxes are hardest to pass on to the consumer. And let him touch as lightly as possible, or not at all, on the tea, coffee, sugar and actual necessities of the people, already, in many instances, beyond the limit of their means.

A FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY.

From an Address at White Cloud, Kan., July 6, 1917.

We did not wish to fight the Prussian military tyrants. They made the attack upon us; not on our shores, but on our ships, our lives, our rights, our future. We are at war because we could not honorably keep out.

We are in the midst of one of those great upheavals of civilization out of which are born great events that will affect the whole future of the human race. The world war is in the fearful birth throes of a world-democracy.

This is a war to save America—to preserve a great and a patient people's decent self-respect, to justify our right to live as we have lived, not as some one else wishes us to live and pay tribute and homage to him. The United States became involved in this struggle not simply because war was made on it by the German government, but also be-

cause we recognized there could be no security in the world, that the next generation would live under the black shadow of impending wars of conquest, and the world go military-mad, unless the autocratic ideal should now be overthrown.

This is a titanic struggle between two irreconcilable ideals of civilization—the American ideal and the ideal of an autocratic state, ruling by the sword, recognizing no obligations in furthering its far-reaching ambitions; knowing no mercy, tramping out the lives of thousands of unoffending, helpless women and children and feeble old men to gain an end, as unfeelingly as if they were straw.

Whatever the difference of opinion may have been about peace or war heretofore—and there were honest differences of opinion as to whether America should have entered this war—the time for argument has passed. The President and Congress have said the United States must get into the fight in self-defense. And now we are in the fight our duty to ourselves and to humanity is to win as quickly as possible; to assert the great power of free America with such telling effect in Europe that the appalling slaughter of human beings shall be stopped in the shortest possible time. We are fighting for a peace founded upon justice, for an end to aggression, for a lasting peace by the only means that can obtain it—a successful American war. Through us, success of the allied arms in Europe means peace and security for the free nations of the earth for years to come, but this success depends on us. Failure means the constant threat, and, ultimately the effort, to impose the autocratic military idea of government by murder upon every democracy in the western hemisphere.

Old Glory has always been kept unstained. In this great crisis the American people will be true to the best traditions of their national life, and when peace shall have been concluded we shall have no cause to blush for America.

I take comfort in the thought that this in all probability is the last great war. America will sit at the council table of peace. While she will seek nothing for herself, she will

demand that justice be done to all the belligerent nations. She will have the right to say, and will say, that lasting peace must be guaranteed to all the peoples of the earth for all time to come. It will be a just and democratic peace and not the iron rule of terror, humiliation and plunder, that goes by the name of Prussian militarism.

AN UNBEATEN PEOPLE.

From an Address at the Topeka Auditorium on the Occasion of the Visit of the Belgian High Commission, headed by Baron Ludwic Moncheur, July 20, 1917.

Kansas is honored by the visit to its capital of this distinguished company representing that gallant little country which was first to feel the iron heel and the mailed fist of the ruthless Hun. I assure Baron Moncheur that the sentiments we Kansans entertain for his countrymen embrace much more than pity for a stricken people and an outraged country; mingled with the pity is a high admiration of the bravery and fortitude displayed by their noble king and his valorous army, a lively sense of fellowship for a people too proud to bend the knee to the conqueror and too high-minded to buy peace at the price of perfidy. Our visitors have the satisfaction of knowing that it is their perfidious assailants and not they that made of sacred treaties mere scraps of paper. Had Belgium acceded to the demand of the Hun for a right-of-way across her territory, the world might have made excuses for her on the ground that her weakness made any other course impossible, but to the undying glory of the land that Baron Moncheur and his colleagues here represent, Belgium chose the way of the Cross and suffered martyrdom for principle, and so long as time shall last the world will sing praises to her valor.

From the outset, Kansas, along with all the other states of our Union, resented the unlawful invasion of Belgium

by the German, and she showed her sympathy and understanding by an immediate and generous response to the call for help from the stricken land. I call attention to this fact, not to glorify anything that we as a people have done to alleviate in some measure the terrible suffering there, but merely as an evidence that Kansas has understood the Belgian question from the start. Whatever we have done is little enough, God knows, for now we know that it is Belgium that saved the world. And while Belgians are now suffering the agony of seeing their loved land in the hands of the invader and despoiler, I state with all confidence that the day will come when King Albert will lead the remnants of his gallant army back to his capital in glory and triumph.

To attempt to predict when that great day will come would be the height of folly, but that it will come some time I have every confidence, and I know our distinguished visitors share that confidence. It is gratifying, too, to know that Kansans will share with Belgians the joys of that great day. Already hundreds of thousands of Americans are in khaki training in the army camps, and each day sees the number increasing. Soon they will be overseas, taking their part in the titanic struggle. That they will do their part worthily we know. I am prompted to say this by no spirit of vainglory but because that is the history of the American soldier and sailor in every war in which we have engaged.

RUSSIA'S VALIANT DEFENSE.

From an Address Delivered from the Steps of the State House, Topeka, on the Occasion of the Visit of General Vladimir Roop, of the Russian Mission, July 27, 1917. (Several Hundred Russian-born Citizens of Topeka were present.)

In welcoming General Roop and his confreres of the Russian mission, I desire to assure him that Kansans are not disheartened by the temporary reverses of the armies in which he has had the honor to serve valiantly as a soldier. In the transition from a monarchy to a republic it was inevitable that some disturbances would occur, but we have confidence that under Premier Kerensky or some other great popular leader the Russian people will find themselves and once more become a factor in the great battle for democracy.

Between the United States and Russia the most cordial relations always have existed. Russia was the friend of America back in the days of the beginnings of the republic. That traditional friendship has continued to this day, and now the two great republics find themselves allies in this world war, where democracy is gripped in a life and death struggle with autocracy. In this war Russia has thus far played a great part. Whatever may be the outcome of the present German drive into Russian territory, it is but common justice to Russia to say that it was the pressure exerted by her on Germany's eastern front that enabled France and Great Britain to build up the great armies that now hold the western front. Russia may have her military reverses but we know it is due to no lack of valor, but rather to shortage of munitions and to influences that are most difficult to combat.

So America keeps her faith to Russia. She welcomes her, the youngest member, to the family of republics, and prays that she may fulfill her highest hopes in working out her destiny.

KANSAS' FIGHTING MEN ADD NEW GLORY TO AMERICAN ARMS.

*From an Address at a Union Patriotic Meeting, Caney,
Kan., July 21, 1918.*

The manhood of America did not need to vindicate itself, or to show what it will do when put to the test. But none the less, every American thrills with pride as he thinks of what our soldiers have accomplished in the last three weeks on the firing line in France. They have taken their baptism of fire, with all the courage, the dash and stamina of veterans and have added new glory to American arms. They are true fighting men. Kansas rejoices that some of her sons have had the opportunity of doing their part in what we believe to be the turning of the tide. We are proud of our men "over there"; and in our pride will renew our determination to stand back of them until the end.

Our pride in these boys will temper the keen sorrow that is to come when the casualty list makes known the price of their immortal glory. The Kansas boys who are fighting the Hun have gone on the holiest crusade that ever fired men's souls, and those who fall will fall more gloriously than men ever have fallen on a battlefield. He who loses his life in such a cause, saves it for eternity. The God who gave His only begotten Son to save the world, will bless and glorify the sons of Kansas who give up their lives in that same holy cause.

THE NATION CALLS FOR THE SERVICE OF ALL.

From an Address at Valley Falls, Kan., July 22, 1917.

I am glad to be invited to come here to pay you a neighborly visit. There are two things a governor should do with all his might. One is to get out among Kansas folks and know Kansas conditions. The other is to apply this knowledge to the conduct of state affairs. I am doing both of these things as hard as I can, for I believe it isn't possible for a man to know too much about his job, and my job is 400 miles long and 200 miles wide. But big as it is and exacting as it is in this time of war, I wish to do anything and everything I can do to help my state fulfill its duty.

At this grave moment in the nation's history we are all vitally interested in one thing. This is because it concerns not only the future of Kansas, and the future of this country, but our very lives and all there is in this world that is worth living for. Tonight I am going to ask you to forget this fine city, your growing county, and the best of all states, and give your loving thought to the great United States by which we stand or fall as a people. These are days that stir the soul of every American. And you know and I know that first of all we are Americans.

No matter how brave or how aggressive is our community spirit, or the affection we hold for our city, our county, our state; as communities they cannot stand alone. It took a German army just about a week to wreck Belgium and overcome almost seven times as many people as we have in Kansas, and they were assembled in a territory seven times smaller than Kansas. There were 7 millions of those Belgians, the most industrious, the most thrifty people in the world. Today the Belgians that are not starving, are

dead, and those that are not dying are slaves of their conquerors, or worse. And their offense was simply attempting to defend the neutrality which their very conquerors had guaranteed to them.

REGULATION SHOULD NOT BE ONE-SIDED.

*From an Address Before the National Council of Defense
at Washington, April 3, 1918.*

I am here to say there is no class of citizens in all this country more loyal to the nation or more anxious to do everything in their power to win the war than our western farmers. But the government has not been entirely fair to them. It has guaranteed good profits to the railroads and to other big industries, but the farmer has been given the worst of it. When it came to regulating prices the millers, the packers, the railroads, the copper magnates, the coal barons and sugar kings were consulted, but the farmer has had a small part in this price-fixing program.

Out West we believe that if the price of the Kansas farmers' wheat and hogs is to be regulated, the price of Southern cotton also should be regulated. We find that cotton has advanced in the last year from \$15 to \$31. The Kansas farmer is paying a good share of that increase in the high price he is forced to pay for all cotton goods. If the Western farmer is to have the price of his products regulated, it is only fair the things the farmer must buy should be regulated.

Our farmers will make no protest on the present price of wheat if the prices of other things are fixed accordingly. But when they see farm implements, harness, shoes, clothing, fuel and other necessities have gone up 100 per cent or more, they cannot be blamed for feeling that this regulating program has been a one-sided affair. Wheat today would bring more than \$4 a bushel if on a par with the prices of manufactured goods.

THIS MUST BE THE LAST WAR.

From a Chautauqua Address, Sterling, Kan., July 25, 1917.

Yet deeply committed to war as the whole world is at this moment, it takes no great prophet to discern unmistakable signs of the blessed peace that is to come. These signs grow more frequent. While as a people we must in mercy strike with all our might for those rights and principles which no American ever can or ever will or ever ought to surrender, we cannot tell what blessed morning the vision of a kinder, fairer and juster world, in which Right only shall be Might, will dawn upon us. And then this black nightmare will pass into that chamber of horrors we call history. Even now we are forging the lock for that very dungeon in which we shall cage the war beast. We shall temper it with the strong steel of American democracy. We shall fuse it in the white hot fire of American patriotism. We are going to disarm this monster, war, and lock him up forever.

In this darkest hour of a black night I believe this war-crazed, blood-soaked world is even now within reach of immeasurable good which shall be lasting. The close of this war will strike the hour for organizing among the great nations a federation for maintaining world peace. America is the one nation which can propose such a federation and effect its organization. We are the nation which best can assume the leadership. We now have the right and we have the strength to compel it. The task is hopeless without us. We are in to stay until we capture this beast and put the chains on him.

All patriotic Americans now favor vigorous prosecution of the war, but as soon as kaiserism and autocracy have been completely overthrown, I believe the people of every nation with America as spokesman, will demand there shall

be permanent peace thru a federation of nations. An international court of justice shall judge all future controversies between the nations. Instead of wholesale murder of men, women and children—and worse than murder—each nation will be required to have in readiness a national police. This police force shall be sufficient only to maintain its individual character, and to support the federation that will enforce peace and justice between all nations.

That result, and only that result, can compensate us for this appalling sacrifice. It would atone for all the suffering and wickedness which have afflicted humanity during these bloody years. The hand of God is in it. This glorious mission is ours and will be the outcome of our participation in the war. I believe this to be a war against war. A war against militarism. A war for a lasting and permanent peace. In the end a great and lasting good to humanity is to come out of the hell that has been let loose upon a once civilized world.

This war, as nothing else could have done, has brought home to the people of all the earth, the criminal insanity of a resort to arms as a means of settling disputes between nations. The world has learned that war is as barbarous as cannibalism, that it can be as degrading and bestial in modern times as it was in the Dark Ages and on a much wider and greater scale. As a policy of modern nations in a Christian civilization, war no longer is thinkable. Its cruelty, its wickedness, its waste, its insanity, is everywhere admitted.

And so it is the duty of sane men to make this world tragedy which to many of us seems to have set back the clock of civilization a thousand years, the last great war of history. Henceforth there must and there shall be a rational and more humane method of settling international disputes.

Our task is to keep burning one single issue into the general consciousness. And that is, this must be the last war. And that at the close of this war, the world can and

must find some other way to settle its differences than by the slaughter and mutilation of men, the starving of women and children, the uprooting of fields and plains. I know we shall do it. We Kansas people will stake our all on such an issue. Already the good work has begun.

THE ENEMY AT HOME.

*From an Address at the Annual Harvest Festival at
Benedict, Kan., August 3, 1917.*

It seems to me our war problems increase faster than we find solutions for them. As vital as our conduct of the war itself, is the welfare of the people. They are the source of all our power as a nation. They must fight this war and it is inevitable they must pay for it. The whole crushing weight of this staggering load is upon them. Therefore, I hold it the sacred duty, the first and most imperative duty of government at this time, to save and defend the people from as greedy and conscienceless a horde of traitors as the world ever has seen. It is not the enemy abroad but the enemy at home which is putting the nation to the test.

The same relentless greed which stretches its iron hand across the coffin to rob defenseless grief, is squeezing the life and heart out of the people—is sapping our national energy at its source.

The steel profiteers are making it impossible for the average farmer to buy needed machinery. I can only guess what they are doing to the government itself.

The food profiteers are stinting the food supply of more than half the homes of the nation.

The coal profiteers threaten these homes with a winter of appalling suffering.

Shoes and clothing are mounting out of the reach of the people.

It is not a time for namby-pamby discussions. We must find the remedy and find it quick. We must find it in a

super-strength and effectiveness of government that will deal powerfully, promptly and drastically with every phase of this national peril.

In such disasters as the Galveston flood, the Dayton flood and the San Francisco earthquake, the genius of the American people has risen to the emergency. I cannot believe it will fail this time if we supply the leadership.

HUMAN HOGS IN WAR TIME.

From a Speech at a Patriotic Meeting, Auburn, Kan., July 27, 1917.

The American people have given their sons—strong, manly fellows—the pick of the nation. They will give their money, billions and billions of it. They will deprive themselves and they will suffer, but once and for all they will beat out the life of this bloody giant, Militarism, who has compelled us to take up his own weapons against him that we may have peace and happiness in this world.

Deep in our hearts we are determined that while making these sacrifices we shall not have traitors sapping our strength and vigor at home. We shall not submit to being robbed and exploited and driven to misery and want ourselves by traitor-speculators who, taking advantage of this crisis to hold up people and government alike, would starve and freeze half the homes in America to pile up more dollars and dividends. These human hogs who force the prices of food and coal and steel higher and higher, must be dealt with as we would deal with any other criminal. They are as deadly an enemy as the kaiser and they can do us infinitely more harm.

The coal situation is a scandal. The people should no longer tolerate it. Unless relief is obtained thousands and thousands of American homes will suffer greater hardships this winter than the men in the trenches.

The extortion in steel is greater even than in coal. Ship plates cost less than 1 cent a pound two years ago. Now they sell for 4 and 5 cents a pound. The government has been forced to fight these steel magnates who literally are wallowing in illegitimate profits.

Flour, bacon, beef and other necessities today are costing our people more than consumers pay for them in submarine-blockaded England.

Producer and consumer alike are robbed by the manipulators of markets.

I say these outrages must be stopped or God help those who are responsible for continuing them.

Furthermore, the American people are resolved that the billions of dollars that we need for the successful prosecution of the war, shall not all come out of the pocket of the poor man, nor out of the scant savings of the little homes all over the land. The rich man and big business shall not be allowed to pass the heavier share of the burden onto them. These men of thousands and millions must pay in proportion as they profit from the necessities and hardships of the war. Never has big business prospered as it now is prospering. One hundred and four American corporations, engaged in manufacturing, mining and similar enterprises, in 1916 showed a profit of 1,273 million dollars in war "velvet" as against 263 million dollars of war profits in 1914. In two years their excess profits have increased nearly 500 per cent. This year the excess profits of these concerns will be 5 billion dollars. This is all war "velvet"—all due to the war.

Doesn't common decency suggest these huge profits be turned over to the government? Secretary McAdoo has just told Congress that 5 more billions will be needed for war expenses this year, making 14 billion dollars for war the first year. Is there as much money in the world? Most of these 14 billions will be spent right here and big business will get it.

If the big business concerns of this country are taxed as they should be taxed upon their excess profits, at the same rate as corporations are taxed in England, Uncle Sam would be able to meet the gigantic expenses of the war without laying a heavy hand upon the small business man, the farmer, the clerk and the laborer. If this sane and just method of taxation is employed, Congress won't be asked to vote "with its eyes shut" for a poorly-devised revenue bill. If excess profits are taxed for war revenue, business may continue as usual and our people will suffer no unnecessary hardships. But if big business escapes its share of taxation and is permitted to go on rolling up these tremendous profits at the expense of the government and the people, a long continuance of the war will result in such riots and disorders in this country as we have never known. It may even involve big business in the wreck.

My friends, preventing the exploiting of the people by disloyal, greedy men and combinations of men; and providing a fair and honest apportionment of war taxation, are the two fundamental problems of this war. They are as vitally important as the war itself. These two great fundamental problems must be solved. They must be solved correctly and justly in the interest of the whole people, or we shall be tried as we have never been tried before. The people must earnestly insist and vigorously demand a fair war tax bill. They must stand for their rights. They must stand for the highest good of the whole country, or suffer deeply for their apathy and neglect.

THE GOVERNMENT MUST BE HONEST WITH THE PEOPLE.

*From a Speech at a Patriotic Meeting at Ottawa, Kan.,
July 1, 1917.*

Rightly or wrongly, one or two recent appointments at Washington in connection with the expenditures of the country's huge war funds, have aroused widespread public distrust. I feel it myself, and I meet it everywhere. Later events may or may not justify the public's suspicions. But it is admittedly a bad policy to appoint stock exchange gamblers to positions of great trust where we should have men of the highest standing.

Every great public emergency offers unusual opportunities for the grafter. The people know we have never had wars that we have not had swarms of grafters. Men of this kind are willing to enrich themselves at the expense of their country, if not at the expense of their country's blood.

We may take it for granted that sooner or later, if it has not already happened, the enormous sums contributed to this war by the people will excite the criminal cupidity of such men.

This probability should and does make the people extremely watchful and suspicious.

But the government can turn this situation into a great source of strength if it will.

I am hoping when any misdoing or traitorous thieving is discovered, that the government will fully and promptly let the people know the facts. I am hoping the government will be absolutely square and above board with the people, no matter who or what department of the government the truth and the whole truth, may "hurt."

Such a frank and open course will have a wonderful effect in strengthening the government in the confidence and esteem of the people. The whole nation will react to it. The President will find that the country will be wonderfully more responsive to all calls for team work or for assistance of any kind, if only the government will keep faith with the people.

For the rest, I hope an early example will be made of the first grafter caught. The punishment should be prompt and severe.

I can imagine no more despicable a crime than to cheat as well as betray your country in time of war. The fate of the first man caught doing it in this war should strike terror into the cowardly hearts of all who are like him, and the next offender should get as much of the same kind, if not more of it.

A few examples would have tremendous effect. Every big and little grafter would fear, and with reason, that the watchful eye of the government was also upon him. That it would be his turn next to undergo punishment and be held up to public scorn and contempt by pitiless publicity in the press of the nation.

Nothing would go further toward reassuring the public. It would know it had an honest government. It would know that no one at Washington was trying to cover up the misdeeds of any treacherous and unworthy servant, nor trying to hide or excuse mistakes or errors of judgment.

No government, especially no American government, need fear to be absolutely square with the people. If the people believe the government is right at heart, they will back it to the limit.

I hope Washington will follow the Kansas custom. That it will learn to take its medicine when it needs it, and that it will promptly kick out every rascal and scorch him with its contempt and its scorn.

HOW WE CAN HELP WIN THE WAR.

*From a Patriotic Address at Baptist Church, Armourdale,
Kan., July 31, 1917.*

What can we do to help shorten the war by winning it?

We home folks can volunteer, and we must. This means that every one of us must of his own volition do his part faithfully and willingly and without waiting to be asked. I think we will. I haven't yet found a slacker in Kansas.

Let me tell you that man for man and woman for woman, as much if not more actually depends on our efforts as upon the soldiers in the field.

Just think a moment. Notwithstanding the huge armies that will be raised, not more than 5 per cent of the population will be called to arms. That leaves not less than 95 per cent of us at home. It is our task to keep the altars of patriotism burning brightly, and home and state and national resources up to top-notch and in constant readiness for every national need.

We shall have to do our daily and hourly tasks a little more diligently, a little more efficiently, for now we not only have our own work to do, but also the work of those who are absent. And we shall be called on to do even more than this, for war is the greatest of wasters.

We can accomplish these things only thru system and planning and thru sensible, not hysterical, economizing of time, labor, material, food.

We must make every effort count.

We must keep ourselves fit, just as the soldier must keep fit.

We must prevent waste of every kind.

Every slice of bread or piece of meat or ounce of sugar that can be saved will help to win. The government urges us to turn from the use of foods which can easily be trans-

ported to Europe and which are so sadly needed, to support the war. It asks us to substitute for our own use other foods which are more abundant and which cannot be transported. Even families which already are practicing the strictest economy, even the careful housewife who never wastes anything, can help by changing the bill of fare and using wheat and meat and sugar as sparingly as possible.

In my own home where strict economy may not be absolutely necessary, we are trying to comply with this request, because it is a part of the government program. My good wife feels we must all work together in doing what the government asks; and that the Food Administrator's rules are meant as much for governors as for anyone else. It is only by united effort we can win; so I find that we have at our house wheatless days and meatless days; and on other days the slices of bread are a little thinner, and we have small portions of bacon and beef. Mrs. Capper is feeding me on Kansas cornbread and Kaw Valley potatoes and a variety of Kansas grown vegetables, and I find that I am getting fat. I have gained a pound and a half in the last six weeks.

We all can talk as well as practice food producing and saving, for it is well to keep this important matter continually before our attention.

We can plan simpler dressing, simpler social life, simpler living, yet live just as well, and conserve our health and resources for other demands that will be made upon us.

We can and must lend our personal and willing assistance to every state and community activity for carrying on the war and strengthening our resources.

PATRIOTISM OF KANSAS' FOREIGN BORN.

*From an Address at the Swedish Lutheran Rally, Axtell,
Kan., July 20, 1916.*

Kansas is cosmopolitan and glad of it. Kansas is a product of the melting pot and admits it with pride and satisfaction. It has 115,266 citizens of foreign birth, every one a good citizen, the best ever. Uncle Sam has no better children. I wish he had more just like them.

They came to us from every country in Europe: From Germany we have 28,807; from Sweden, Norway and Denmark 14,818; from France 2,170; from Russia 14,620; from Great Britain 19,279; from the south of Europe 17,076.

No one in Kansas doubts their Americanism any more than he doubts his own. They and their children own more of Kansas than any other like number of citizens. We have no finer, more useful, more law-abiding, God-fearing people.

They came here with little. But they have been thrifty, honest and industrious. Now they are property owners, famous farmers, home builders, school and church builders, bank depositors, taxpayers. Never tax dodgers.

In thrift and industry, in whatever they undertake, they have set us all a most eloquent and striking example of persistent, intelligent, successful endeavor. Their family and religious life is nearly ideal. Their children are carefully reared and invariably well educated. They produce no loafers, no physical or moral weaklings. Their contribution to the criminal class is the smallest.

How can anyone doubt the patriotism of such citizens? They live it!

That they should not look with strong sentimental interest, partisanship and grief at the titanic struggle in their native lands would be to demand more of them than flesh and blood and heart and soul can deliver. This very thing

testifies to the high quality of the loyalty they bear to and would manifest if need be to the nation they have made their own.

Our Russian Mennonites first gave Kansas world-fame as the chief producer in quality and quantity of the world's best bread-making wheat.

Our Swedish and Norwegian settlers have built up a great center of Scandinavian learning and culture at Lindsborg, famous all over America for its musical festivals.

As far back as the earliest history of Kansas, during the border war for human freedom that preceded the Civil war, and in that greater conflict, our citizens of German birth and those from Sweden, Norway and Denmark, marched shoulder to shoulder with the American born and pledged their lives as freely, as frequently, as gladly and as unquestioningly, as we did, that the nation might live and be free.

How can anyone doubt the loyalty of these citizens to the home and country they have made their very own?

In Kansas we do not and we never have. We concede to them an Americanism as strong and deep and true and virile as our own. Our flag is their flag and ever will be. It is their flag as much as it is ours. They have toiled or shed their blood for it and they will defend it just as devotedly in time of trial or need.

FOR AN AGGRESSIVE WAR POLICY.

From an Address at El Dorado, Kan., August 8, 1917.

You know I am not a war-like man. I stood out against war as long as there was a possibility of honorably avoiding it. Now we are at war I am for unity of action, for exerting the full and undivided strength of the nation. The stronger and more aggressive the policy at Washington, the sooner we shall have peace.

A united front and no faltering, is the quickest way for us to end the war. It will do more to save lives and lighten

war burdens than any other, or all other courses. To do anything else will be at the cost of bloody sacrifices. The thing for us to do now is to strengthen the arm of the government in every possible way. We should work and pray for united action. Argument and bickering, or holding back simply amounts to aiding the enemy, when the whole strength of the nation must be exerted to bring this war to an end in the only way it can be ended. To accomplish this result, everyone must make this his war.

I am not alone in the opinion that the two most powerful weapons in our hands are food and wealth. In these resources our position is impregnable. I believe America alone could stand a siege against the whole world. But such a war would last for generations and bring ruin and desolation to every home in the land.

Our own resources are sufficient for our needs at this hour, but the demand of the ally nations for food is so urgent, that every resource we have must be strained to meet it, for by meeting it promptly and generously we shall do most to end the war and shall save American lives that otherwise must be lost in the trenches.

At the same time, whether we use it or not, we must train and make ready a great army. Possibly the larger part of it may never leave these shores. That depends on how well and how promptly we supply the present needs of our war-worn allies on the fighting line. In either case we must have men and arms ready. We must be ready not only for every contingency of this war, but we must be aggressively ready, more than ready for whatever happens or transpires. At this moment with sons and fathers leaving for the camps, and other sons and fathers soon to follow, our natural human feelings have the upperhand, but it is my earnest conviction at this stage of the great world struggle, that anything short of mobilizing the full strength of the nation is the most perilous course for them as well as for us on whom the duty now falls to support them promptly and adequately in camp and field. Let us trust in God's good-

ness and mercy. Let us face the future courageously—and work, work, work.

We must back up those boys whose lives now are pledged to our defense, back them up at every turn of the road. We have everything to gain by strong vigorous action. Nothing else is to be thought of. It is for us left at home fully to realize that the duration of the war depends on our efforts. Let us go to work with a will to win it as quickly and as bloodlessly as possible.

COME BACK NOBLER MEN.

*From an Address to Officers' Training Camp, Fort Riley,
August 9, 1917.*

I come here to bring you a message of appreciation and good wishes from the people of Kansas. I congratulate you on the splendid showing you have made today as the result of three months' intensive training under Colonel Rivers. There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that you will do your part in a glorious way.

I did not come here to bring you advice. Let me make just this one suggestion, however: You need no sermon to remind you that a system shattered by alcohol or by the disease of vice cannot render adequate service. The man who fails to take care of himself—as he only can care for himself by living a clean, decent life—is shirking his work in his company—is deserting his companion—is as much of a slacker as the coward who hides out. He becomes an object of pity and loathing.

War, more than any other activity of life, brings out the true inwardness of man. It shows men at their true worth. You who are here today will come back to Kansas after you have done your work. You will come back to a people that will welcome you as heroes. Kansas and America have never been niggardly in their treatment of veterans. Places of honor and trust will be open to you; you will have been

tried in the fire and the world will expect you to come out pure gold. God grant that not one of you may fail in that test. Your mothers, your wives, your sweethearts and your fellowmen whose good opinion you value and covet, will be waiting for bigger, better, nobler men than you are today.

And I know, men, that you will not disappoint them. Go with brave hearts and high ideals; come back with honor and clean hands.

PATRIOTISM AND PROFITS.

*From an Address at Annual Fall Festival at LeRoy, Kan.,
August 10, 1917.*

I understand there has been great concern back East about "the attitude of the common people out West" toward the war. They were afraid we wouldn't understand it nor appreciate its terrible significance.

I confess it was difficult for the most of us to believe war possible. But we got awake in time to send a good big bunch of our sons to the army and the navy before the draft; we realized the significance of war enough to raise a good many thousands of dollars for the Red Cross work and the war Y. M. C. A., and we are preparing to grow the biggest crop of food the state has ever seen.

We believe out here in the West that war is the most serious thing in the world.

We believe that war cannot be a half-hearted thing—that when a nation goes into it, it goes the whole way—not half way.

We believe that we must put into it every power of the nation—not part of our power.

And we believe that that means money-power as well as man-power.

We see Uncle Sam turn to the man-power on the farms, in the shops, in the stores and in the mines of the nation, and say in the first year of the war, to 2 million of the pick

of his sons, “I want you to leave your business, your home, your family—give up all your earning power and come work in this holy cause. I will lose many of you. Many of you will never return, but this is your duty; you are a poltroon, a slacker, a coward, if you flinch!”

And more than a million and a half of the youth of the land have cheerfully and loyally answered that call, laying their lives and their fortunes upon their country’s altar.

And then Uncle Sam turns from the man-power of the nation to its other power—the money-power, and what do we see?

Does he say, “Here, Mr. Millions, I want you to give all—to risk your life for your country’s good?” That’s what he says, and rightly says, to the young men of the nation. But does he say that to Money? He does not.

He has heard for years that “Capital is timid,” which is another way of saying that most capitalists are cowards—are “sure thing” gamblers.

He doesn’t attempt to draft capital; that would be confiscation, and while it’s all right to draft a human life, capital is too sacred for that.

So the people of the nation, thru Uncle Sam, are not asking anything so revolutionary as treating billions the same way we treat boys. We don’t ask capital to give itself as the boys do; we only ask that it give up a part of its excess earnings. That’s all.

. We are saying to capital, “Here, my son, this war which is so horrible to the rest of us has brought you wealth beyond your wildest dreams. You don’t know what to do with your income. One corporation alone made more money last year—more net profit—than all the farmers of Kansas put together have ever made in three or four years. Won’t you please let us take a little of the excess profit you are making out of the war, to help pay for the war? That’s a good fellow, now. Don’t be a slacker, sonny.”

That’s all we are asking of capital in the income tax and the excess profit tax; and to most reasonable persons it

would seem fair enough. But not to capital. No, the custodians of wealth can't see it that way; they are moving heaven and earth and Congress in an effort to escape any such arrangement. They say:

"It's all right to sacrifice the boys. That's patriotism and it's a great thing to encourage patriotism. But capital must not be disturbed. Don't tax it; we'll show you a better way than that, Uncle Sam. Just write out your note of hand for a few billion dollars every month or so, at a good rate of interest, and we'll let you have all the money you want. And your people can take the next fifty years to pay off the debt. It will give your boys something to think about and something to work for when they get back from the war, if they ever do get back."

I may mistake the American people, but I don't believe they will ever assent to that arrangement. We have no contempt for money out here in the West; but we don't place a higher value upon it than we place upon our boys. Most of us would rather sacrifice our fortunes than our boys; at least we want the boy to have an even break; and in this terrible business we ask that the nation make at least as great a demand upon money as upon them. Use all the powers of the nation, Uncle Sam.

The 2 million men who will be under arms by the first of the year, are giving up all chance of making big profits out of the war. They will pile up no swollen fortunes. We ask that the stay-at-homes forego that opportunity too. We ask that they be restrained from exploiting the public and from gouging Uncle Sam, and that all the profits of big business above normal profits, and that all swollen incomes above a very reasonable amount, be placed at the disposal of the government along side of the lives of our young men. And it is little enough we ask. It is only justice.

But aside from the justice of the case, business, shortsighted and timid as it proverbially is, ought to be able to see the handicap that will be placed upon this nation by the piling up of billions and billions of bonded indebtedness.

The war will not last forever and the after-the-war problems are as serious as the war itself. If we do the best we can, raise every dollar possible by taxation, we still shall emerge from the war with a debt that staggers the imagination. If we are not to devote the entire energies of the next fifty years to the payment of that debt, while all progress stands still, we must bend every energy now to "paying as we go," even if a few of our favored sons are compelled to give up a few luxuries in war times.

THE SUPREME DUTY OF EVERY MAN.

From an Address to the Evangelical Alliance, Lawrence, Kan., August 11, 1917.

It is a peculiar trick of Fate that a man with such pronounced peace tendencies as I have, should be your governor at a time when we are entering upon the greatest war of history. But now that we are in the war, there is no time for any American—especially any man who has been entrusted with public office—to think about his personal opinions. We have passed that stage. The one plain duty of every individual is to give his supremest efforts to the cause in which we are engaged. The man who falters—who stops now to whine about what might have been—is disloyal.

I have from the first taken my office seriously. I have felt its responsibilities. But all that has gone before is as nothing compared with the responsibility which now rests upon me as your chief executive officer in seeing that this state and this people do their full share in the gigantic task before us. Kansas is willing. We are not slackers; we want to serve the nation and the cause of democracy in the world. But it is so easy to go wrong. The governor's part has become a 24-hour-a-day job. Because the length of the war; the toll of human life and treasure which will be

taken; and indeed our ultimate triumph depends so largely upon what we do now, we must get the right start and that means an early start and vigorously sustained effort to the end. United action we must have.

DON'T HAMPER THE PRODUCER.

From an Address at the Old Settlers' Reunion at Frankfort, Kan., September 20, 1917.

We are in front of a mighty big job in Kansas—the biggest job undertaken by any state since time began. It depends upon us more than upon any other state to keep an embattled world from starving during the next two years. In my opinion we shall need every ounce of man-power we've got in Kansas and the use of every tillable acre.

A great deal of thought has been spent on safeguarding the consumer from the greediest band of cut-throats that ever cursed a nation. Of course we must protect our wage-earners. But what is vastly more important just now, we must first insure raising and harvesting the stuff. The great big thing still is to stimulate production in every possible way.

For weeks and months I have been doing my utmost to present this side of the case to the President and Congress. I have talked it everywhere. I have made the facts known in all my papers. To all comers I have said, the world's savior in this emergency must be the producer; the producer is the foremost man you must consider.

But Washington's duty doesn't end here. It must guard us from extortionate prices for farming implements, for binder twine, for all the necessities of the farming business. We must in no way cripple or hamper the only man who can save us from a world disaster. It must be easily possible for him to buy the implements he needs, especially every labor-saving tool.

If we can't have a little of this kind of patriotism higher up, by all means let Washington draft it. If it can draft lives it can draft property and it can limit fat dividends.

KANSAS' PRIDE IN HER FIGHTING MEN.

From an Address at the Farewell Reception to Kansas National Guardsmen at Kansas City, Kan., September 3, 1917.

Major Hunt and Men of the Kansas National Guard:

You have left your peaceful pursuits, "your mirth and your employment" to answer your country's call, to give your strong young manhood to the nation's need. I bid you God-speed.

You are not setting forth on a holiday jaunt. War is no picnic. It is a man's job.

The war came to America, slowly and gradually but with all the inevitableness of Fate; we bided our time with infinite patience and sometimes it seemed with infinite indifference, but when the hour struck it found you ready—and ready without any fireworks, with no bombast, no mock heroics. I do not think of you as having any false ideas about the romance of war; the glamor of war has not deceived you.

To me you are not soldiers of fortune who buckle on the sword and sally forth seeking adventure. Instead you seem to me to be sober-minded young men who realize that war is a serious business, a most regrettable business that the greed and selfishness and ignorance and stupid muddling in general has slopped over for a final cleaning up in a century where it does not belong. It is a disgrace to civilization; a crime—the worst of all crimes before God and man, but it's here, and it brings with it a dirty piece of work which must be done and you have set your teeth and are going to do it. It is part of your day's work and you are not going to shirk it.

It is a great thing to live in and to be a part of an age that does an epoch-making thing. Prophecy is a foolish thing but I believe that the second decade of the 20th century will be remembered for thousands of years, not for its marvelous inventions; not for its progress in science, but because of the final overthrow of war among men. It is for that reason and for that purpose that you are here; to banish from the earth forever the horrible trade you are learning.

I am not going to load you up with a lot of unasked-for advice. I notice that you are getting plenty of that; almost as much as the farmers or newspaper men. But I do want to congratulate you upon what the world has learned in the last few years about taking care of its soldiers.

While science has brought many wonderful and diabolic things to war, we have learned to protect you from the greed and avarice of the human harpies who fed your fathers and some of you, embalmed beef and other culinary abominations.

We have learned to protect you from typhoid and malaria and yellow fever and the plague.

We have learned how to look after your comfort and moreover have learned that looking after your comfort pays.

But most important of all we have learned to protect our defenders from liquor and vice, from the booze-seller and the immoral woman. War has slain its thousands in the past generations; but war's wretched camp-followers, Immorality and Drunkenness, have slain their millions.

From these horrors it is the high purpose of your Commander-in-Chief, your officers and the American people to protect you. The word has gone forth that the camps of the American soldiers must be clean and decent and I thank God that the officers of the army, even some of those who might have thought clean living an impossibility, are making every effort to see that the order is obeyed in letter and in spirit.

LOYALTY OF THE FOREIGN BORN.

From an Address Delivered at the Grand Opera House, Topeka, Kan., in Furtherance of the Third Liberty Loan, on the Occasion of the Visit of Governor Simon Bamberger of Utah, April 24, 1918.

It gives me unusual pleasure to introduce to you our distinguished guest and my good friend, Governor Simon Bamberger, of the sister state of Utah. It affords me occasion to say something about a subject to which many of us have given too little attention. Most of us have been quick to detect and to denounce the citizen of foreign birth, who has not been 100 per cent pure in his Americanism. We have been quick to charge disloyalty against foreign born citizens who have wavered in their allegiance to this government, and rightly so. But too many of us have failed to appreciate that the citizen of foreign birth who is not loyal to our government is in a decided minority among foreign born citizens. The truth is that the vast majority of our foreign born are as ardent in their patriotism, as devoted in their loyalty, as ready to make the needed sacrifices for the successful prosecution of the war as any citizen of American birth. It is one of this type of citizens who is with us tonight and whom we are delighted to honor.

Simon Bamberger was born in Prussia. He came to this country, a poor emigrant lad, at the age of 14. He is now a rich man and the governor of his state, and there is not a more loyal citizen of the United States nor a more ardent patriot in Utah than this same Simon Bamberger. He knows the debt of the citizen to his country, because he recognizes and is quick to acknowledge publicly and privately that all he is and has and hopes to be he owes to the

land of his adoption. Because he knows this so well he has gone all about this country preaching this doctrine and telling other citizens of foreign birth to get into this fight with all their might and back up Uncle Sam with their influence, their wealth and their lives, to the very finish. America takes pride in her Simon Bambergers.

THE CALL FOR SERVICE FINDS KANSAS BUSY.

*From an Address Before the National Council of Defense
at Washington, April 3, 1918.*

Kansas' citizens will go ahead sturdily, confidently, patriotically in this trying time with the tasks assigned them in field or factory, producing to the limit, sacrificing where sacrifice is needed for the country's good, adjusting themselves to new and strange conditions, overcoming difficulties courageously as difficulties appear, and giving liberally and cheerfully of their possessions to the common fund, if the giving contributes to victory.

Happily Kansas people have retained much of the early simplicity of living inevitable in an agricultural state, so that now when self-denial is demanded they have to renounce few extravagances, but turn readily to the common-sense frugality and thrift so essential to a nation at war.

I could not be a true citizen of Kansas and doubt for one moment that in 1918 we shall present to the national administration a community of interest, of ideals, of patriotic ambitions and of notable achievements to the end that our state may live in the nation's history as one that did more than its share when the call came for service. In men, in money, in food, Kansas will prove itself a mighty base of supplies. There are no drones out there.

PROTECT SOLDIERS FROM VICE.

*From an Address at the Sylvia, Kan., Chautauqua,
August 4, 1917.*

War at the best brings in its train horrors and misery and woe. It is the culmination of human disaster. It calls for sacrifices of blood and of treasure, and there is no escape from its call. We cannot evade its penalties. We must pay with the very life's blood of the country; with the mother's tears; with the cries of desolate orphans. But there is one sacrifice which need not be made; one penalty which need not be paid. From time immemorial society has countenanced a laxity of morals in camp life which would not for an instant be sanctioned in civil life. For too long have we taken it for granted that the soldier "must have his fling"—with the result that unscrupulous men and unholy women, camp followers, the ragtag of civilization, have preyed upon young manhood, stripping our fairest youth of honor, besmirching and befouling them and leaving them physical, mental and spiritual wrecks. This is a sacrifice which need not be made; this is one penalty which need not be paid; for God granting the power, the voice of American womanhood shall be heard and the camps wherein a million American youths will be concentrated shall be kept clean, free from liquor and free from vice.

It is a tremendous sacrifice that the American nation is asking of its mothers. Thru the President we are telling the women of this land that they must give their sons and their husbands, their brothers and their sweethearts, a sacrifice to the cause of liberty thruout the world. We say to them, "It is not for you to ask why; it is not for you to murmur or complain; it is your part to give cheerfully and

loyally, as womanhood has given and has sacrificed since the dawn of time." If we make such demands, in God's name, shall we not give to these noble women a guarantee that their boys who escape the hell of battle shall come back to them as clean, as pure, as wholesome as when they left? Shall we not say to them that their loved ones shall be protected from the harpies who would ruin both body and soul? I say to you that the American government shall give them that guarantee and, God helping us, the guarantee shall be made good!

This, my friends, is not a sentimental question. It is not solely a moral question. Sentiment and morals and decency aside, only plain common sense is needed to understand that an efficient soldier, the man who is able to stand the test to which the modern soldier is put, must be a man of the highest physical capacity, with a clear head, a steady nerve and moral as well as physical courage; and this the alcohol-soaked, disease-ridden, degenerate victim of vice can never be. Even if we care nothing for the pleas and prayers of mothers we must have clean soldiers.

With others I have urged upon the President and upon the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, that every possible restriction be placed around the military training camps and cantonments; and I am happy to say that there is evidence that the horrors attending camp life in previous wars will not be repeated in 1917. Both Secretary Daniels and Secretary Baker, I believe, are earnestly endeavoring to keep camp life clean. I have personally visited both Fort Riley and Fort Leavenworth and appealed to the Commanders to do all in their power to eliminate immorality and intemperance. The Commanders at both encampments are fully alive to the responsibilities resting upon them. They have assured me that they are faithfully and conscientiously enforcing the military regulations against drunkenness and vice. I have personally urged those in command of our Kansas regiments to leave nothing undone for the protection of our own boys, and I know they will do

it. I believe the vigilance of the right-thinking Christian men and women of this nation has borne fruit and that the morals of the American army will be kept cleaner than that of any other army on which the sun ever shone.

THE WAY TO GET OUT IS TO FIGHT OUT.

From an Address by Governor Capper in Introducing Major General Leonard Wood at the Food Conservation Congress at Wichita, Kan., October 9, 1917.

The only way to get out of this war is to fight our way out. We must stay in until the war is won. We have no sympathy for those who block progress. Our sympathy is with only one side—that of the United States and our Allies. Every loyal Kansan and patriotic American will get on that side. The man who can't be loyal, thru and thru, should pack his trunk and pull out for the kaiser's country.

The President has great responsibilities. We should lay aside all politics at this time and remember that we are all Americans. I believe we Kansans are 100 per cent Americans.

We could not honorably keep out of this war. We stood for the insults of the kaiser and his military machine as long as possible. It became necessary for us to enter the war to maintain our right to live as free men should live and not to do homage to some foreign power and live as a military autocrat would have us live.

And now that we are in this war, it gives us strength and confidence in the outcome to have as one of our commanding officers such a thoro going American as Major General Wood. It was the foresight of General Wood that gave us the great officers' training camps that are so rapidly supplying our army with trained and skilled officers. The Plattsburg camp, on which the present officers' training camp was modeled, was conceived and carried into effect by

General Wood and without that example the problem of devising and forming these great, successful training camps for officers would have been much more difficult of solution, and our preparation for the conflict would have been much delayed. I have made several visits to Camp Funston and let me assure you every Kansan has reason to feel proud of the wonderful work General Wood has done. He has the aggressive spirit of a true Kansan and I am sure you will heartily approve when I tell you that as chief executive of the state I have commissioned General Wood "Citizen Extraordinary of the State of Kansas."

AMERICA MAKES WAR ON MILITARISM.

*From an Address to the Annual Convention of the
I. O. O. F., Florence, Kan., October 3, 1917.*

When before this has there ever been a war for which so many apologies were made? When before has there been a war so needless, that no one would accept the responsibility for it? When before, a war in which kings and chancellors have pointed at each other and cried, "He began it! My hands are clean! I am innocent of this black crime against mankind! I acted only in self defense?"

You know and I know that the American nation for nearly three years was a neutral looker-on. The American people endeavored to be fair and impartial in their judgment—unmoved by rancor, untainted by prejudice. And we have decided that we know where the responsibility for the greatest tragedy of human history lies. We know what the verdict of history will be. Denials, forgeries, diplomatic lies will not change the verdict.

The appalling nightmare of rapine and murder which the Prussian kaiser has brought upon the world, is the direct and logical result of forty years' deliberate and constant preparation. Bismarck laid the plans with devilish cunning. He sowed the dragon's teeth. Time ripened the

seed, and the kaiser was carefully reared to reap the harvest of death and disaster that the spirit of militarism always has sown.

America wished to keep out of the war. The administration at Washington watched and waited, and waited and watched. The people were loth to plunge into it. We prayed night and day that the bitter cup might pass from us. But this was not to be. The government at Washington considered our participation inevitable if the world was not to be turned over to absolute militarism; if the clock of civilization was not to be turned back a thousand years and all the liberties that mankind had won, thru long centuries, were not to be wiped out in a night. The fate of mankind was at stake and we took part in the titanie struggle.

But let there be no mistaking of our purpose. Not for glory; not for territory; not for commercial gain, do we go to war. For America—and we believe for the Allies with whom we fight—this is a war against war. It is a fight to the death against the spirit of militarism. It must put an eternal ban on the profession of murder, on armies trained to murder, on professional war makers. It must abolish forever the world old idea that Might makes Right. It must do to the bully among nations what civil law does to the bully among men. It must put an end to gun-toting by governments. It must teach the czars and emperors of the Eastern continent and the would-be autoerats of the Western hemisphere, that mankind has advanced since the Stone Age and that brute force no longer may rule the world. It must drive home to all peoples the truth that they who take the sword shall perish by the sword. It shall usher in the day when war shall be no more.

We must not be persuaded that this war, as some will try to persuade us, is a divine call to establish militarism in this country. Our one excuse for taking up arms now is to make the world safe—not from the kaiser and his hordes alone, but from the spirit which animates and created them.

America is waging a war against war, and victory will be meaningless unless it brings universal disarmament. Militarism and the wicked ideals back of it, must be driven out of the world.

COMFORT THE WAR BURDENED.

From an Address to Kansas National Guardsmen at Camp Doniphan, Okla., October 19, 1917.

I bring you greetings from your own people, from the dear ones you have left behind and from the great community that looks upon you with affectionate pride as you go forth to battle against threatened world tyranny.

But we, who are left behind, would make a mockery of our professions of pride and affection in you, did we stop merely with the waving of banners and the shouting of applause. I am glad to be able to tell you that our sentiments are expressing themselves in more substantial form, that we are preparing to see that the loved ones you have left behind in order to make this supreme sacrifice shall not want during your absence. I am urging the people of the state not to forget, and not to neglect this duty we owe to these loved ones of yours, the tenderest care and deepest solicitude. I think I can promise you that they will be shielded, and protected, and cared for. They are bearing a heavy burden, and it is our business, our first duty, to do everything we possibly can to lighten that burden—to sustain and comfort the brave hearts who are so deeply feeling your absence.

Personally and officially it shall be my endeavor to keep the home people ever mindful of this duty, so that you may give your undivided attention to the work at hand—the smashing of your country's foes.

The eagerness of the people back home to back you up in every manner possible, is shown by the volunteers engaged in knitting warm garments, in providing comfort bags, in

subscribing to the Red Cross and in providing the sinews of war thru the Liberty loan. Men and women, and even the children, God bless them, are lending their savings to the government that you men may have everything in the way of clothing and equipment, and arms and munitions necessary to fight this war to a triumphant finish.

We want you to know we are keeping a place for you, a place in our hearts and in our lives, to which you will return with all the honors that come to brave men who have fought a good fight.

GET THE GOUGERS.

From an Address at Jarbalo, Kan., October 26, 1917.

If the war is prolonged it will tax the financial, the industrial, the moral and agricultural resources of the nation. It is to be a war of endurance and to win it, we shall have to conserve every resource to the utmost. The supreme test of the nation has come and it reaches down to all of us.

If we are to see this thing thru, our financial resources must be enlisted along with our boys and our young men. When we consider the patriotism of the mothers who are giving their boys, how shall we speak of the man who gives all his energy to making money, or of the man who seeks enormous gains thru controlling the necessities of life in war time?

From East to West we have reached the end of plundering. With war expenses of 50 million dollars a day to be met by only 100 millions of people, we must take the pay out of patriotism and the profit out of profiteering. We have come to the point in the war where all profiteering must cease, simply as a matter of self-preservation in the interest of the 100 millions of people who now must strain every resource that they may shoulder the colossal burdens of the world-struggle. The greatest traitor now is the profiteer.

If soldiers are to give their lives and the people give of their savings, then we must say to the rich business man, "You must give of your war profits." There can be no justification for a war that exacts of one man his service in the field and his blood upon the altar of patriotism, but which at the same time permits other men to stay at home and fill their pockets with money made out of the desperate conditions that war creates.

In a war that demands the lives and money of the American people there can be no trifling with gougers of any description, be they big or little. I hope the government will show no mercy to the ravenous wolves, the food speculators and gamblers, who are taking advantage of the stress of wartimes to coin the hardships of men, women and children into dirty dollars. These men are traitors to their country and the penitentiary is too good for them.

Yet we are going to win this conflict. The struggle will be desperate, but we shall win because we are right.

We are right because we are on the side of humanity and fighting for a righteous cause; because this nation never starts something that it cannot finish; because America will put into the fight the final punch that can and will win it.

The victory which will be ours will be a victory of civilization over barbarism, of justice over injustice, of honor over dishonor.

THE FLOWER OF AMERICAN MANHOOD.

From an Address at Edgerton, Kan., October 27, 1917.

All honor to our men here at home who already are in the ranks. They are of the nation's best—the flower of American manhood. We are saying to these young men: "You must die if necessary to protect the property and liberty of those of us who do not go upon the field of battle." While 5 per cent will go to the front, 95 per cent will stay at home. It is no time for slacking at home. The devotion of the men

who go to the front becomes an added obligation on the home-staying person, for whose ease and comfort and very life and liberty the others offer to give up their lives. Therefore, the least that we can do at home is to support the government in its great task with every ounce of loyalty and endurance there is in us.

The young men who go to France, the mothers who part with their sons, the wives who part with their husbands, are giving until it hurts. The war will not be war without many casualties, but the number hurt at the front will be far less if those who stay at home give until it hurts—give ungrudgingly of their money, their time and their strength.

It is impossible for anyone to estimate how long this war is going to last. One guess perhaps is as good as another. A few weeks ago I talked with General Joffre and M. Viviani, two distinguished members of the French Commission. I am daily in receipt of letters and telegrams from the President, from the war department and from the National Council of Defense. What I learn from these sources of information makes it more apparent to me each day that the war will last at least two years, possibly three. And so it is well for us earnestly to consider that we are in a serious business and shape our lives and bend our energies accordingly.

There have been withdrawn from the industries of Europe for this war in round numbers, 61 million men. Seven million men have been killed. Fifteen million have been wounded. Five million are in prisons. Thirty-five million are in military camps or trenches. This means that ours is the only large and important producing country whose productive processes have not seriously been interrupted. It means that we must fight this war not with guns alone but with food. We must not only be able to produce the food, but we must be able to transport it to the countries where it will be needed. That is the truly big task that now faces us.

The Allies, according to the best estimates we have, will

need within the next year 500 million bushels of breadstuffs. America is expected to supply at least 200 million bushels. But the best that we can do is to provide 45 million bushels of wheat during the next year, which simply means that we must eat more corn and less wheat than in the past.

Certainly we should set ourselves at once to check all waste, and to put the ban on extravagance and luxury and self-indulgence. Waste is wicked at any time. Waste at this time is a crime against civilization. Everything we can save in food or clothing, or in any other of the essentials of life, by just that much we shall lessen the demand upon the country's supply.

OUR TWO DEADLIEST FOES.

From an Address to the All-Kansas National Army Regiment, the 353rd Infantry, at Camp Funston, November 5, 1917.

I am here to bring you a message of appreciation and good wishes from the people of Kansas. I don't think it is possible for you boys to realize the great place you now occupy in the minds and hearts of those at home—of all your countrymen. We shall all watch, and pray, and hope you may tread the fiery furnace unscathed if possible, for we know you will do your duty whatever the cost.

When everything humanity and civilization hold dear is the issue in the greatest war of all time, there is only one thing that can give a real man any satisfaction. And that is to train himself systematically and thoroly, as you are doing here, until he is magnificently fit, and then to go straight to it, as you will do. If I could change places with one of you and put on the uniform you wear, I would do it. God bless you boys, keep fit, keep clean, be manly morally, and you will be doubly armed. Then your happiness and well-being are assured, whatever may befall you, and you will constitute the finest and the most invincible army the world has ever seen.

It is a great comfort to me and to all of us to know that while science has increased the diabolism of war, it has more than atoned for this by wiping out many of the greater horrors of camp and barrack life. There are only two of war's wretched camp followers left—immorality and drunkenness—and they have slain millions to war's thousands. The word has gone forth that the camps of America's soldiers are to be clean and decent—a model for the world. So far as it is humanly possible it is the purpose of your Commander-in Chief, your officers and the American people to protect you from these curses. But your own sterling manhood will be your best shield and buckler against those treacherous and deadly foes.

I am told that in the war zone, it's the clean, decent fellow, the man who behaves himself at home and wherever he is, and not the mucker and the rowdy, who makes the real fighting man. The men of this camp, I understand, grade first in these highest qualities of manhood and all Kansas is proud, mighty proud, that it does.

I want you to know that while you are offering all any man may offer in support of any cause, that I promise, and Kansas promises, to shield and protect, to watch over and to care for those left at home, who, in consequence of your leaving, may be bearing heavier burdens. We shall do everything possible to sustain and help them, that you may with quiet mind and firm purpose give your whole attention to the great task, the glorious task of smashing the most diabolical thing ever let loose from hell—Prussianism.

WE MUST STAND BY THE KANSAS BOYS AT THE FRONT.

From an Address to the Woodmen Convention at Wellington, November 17, 1917.

We are told over and over again that we in America, and especially we folks of the Middle-West have not begun as yet to appreciate we are at war. It is said we know nothing

about its horrors, its agonies, its tragedy. Perhaps not. It is not easy for us to put ourselves in the other man's place. We cannot realize what the loss of a son or a husband, a brother or a loved one, means until the loss comes home to us ourselves. And yet, my friends, even here in Kansas, far from the scene of actual warfare, I have seen in the last few months more suffering, more agony than I should have thought possible in a world ruled by a Divine Providence. Every day and every hour since the call was made I have listened to stories that meant heartaches and grief. Every mail has brought stacks of letters with appeals from mothers and wives with sad hearts. You cannot tell gray-haired mothers who have sent their boys to the camps that they do not know what war means! You cannot say to a young wife torn from the arms of her husband that she does not yet realize that we are at war! They know, whether you and I know or not! They need no speeches to arouse them.

For weeks my office at the state house and even my home have been besieged by members of the families of the boys called to the service. They come in no spirit of disloyalty; not to complain; not to protest; but seeking advice and counsel. They want to know "What are we to do?"

A young farmer—to cite a typical case—came to my house early one morning recently. His wife and young child came with him. He owns a farm in the western part of the state only partly paid for. His land had yielded just a small crop this year, but he had the true Kansas spirit, he had grit. He promised himself he'd pull thru somehow. And then his number was drawn and he was selected for service. "What am I to do?" he asked. His frail little wife cannot manage the farm alone. It was nip-and-tuck as it was—as much as both of them together could do to keep ahead of the interest and taxes and provide a living for the little home flock. Everything he had in the world was at stake, and yet he said, over and over, after I had read him the law as it had been given to me by the head of the government, "I'm no slacker, Governor. I want to do my duty. I'm willing to

die for my country if need be, I'm ready to go, but must my family suffer, too? Must I sacrifice everything I have worked so hard to gain? There ought to be some other way!" "We need him, Oh, so badly," said the little wife with tears in her eyes. "I want my papa at home," said the little one.

What could I say to that young man? Seated in a comfortable chair in a comfortable home, what could I say to him? What can I say in hundreds of similar cases? What can any of us who remain at home say to the millions who are going to the front to fight our battles for us?

Recently I visited Camp Doniphan, in Oklahoma, where there are 10,000 fine, up-standing, clean young Kansas volunteers. The commanding general, knowing my keen interest in the boys, lined up the entire Kansas army before me for review. I think it moved and stirred me as nothing else in my life has done. There were soldiers in that camp from other states but the 10,000 Kansas boys as they stood there seemed to me a little the finest, the cleanest, the bravest I had ever seen—the flower of the young manhood of Kansas. As I talked to them I could not keep from my mind the overwhelming thought of what we at home owe to these boys who took up so willingly the duty presented to them.

A few days later I was at Camp Funston as the guest of the all-Kansas regiment, the 353rd of the National Army. Three thousand Kansas boys, the pick of the state, boys from rich homes and from poor homes, boys from colleges, from shops and from farms on absolutely the same level. As I shook hands with company after company of them and realized that my hand which grasped theirs had signed the order that sent them into active service, I resolved that no call for service to them would be too great for me to meet. I would go with them if I could but I can't enlist; I was born too soon for that. But I can help. I can and I will back those boys to the limit. I promised the God of Nations then and there, that everything within my power shall be

done to aid and care for those boys; that I would give to war work every cent of my income other than enough for a bare living, as long as the war lasts. And that is little enough compared with the sacrifices made by the men who are leaving their business, their homes, their families, and God help them, perhaps on top of all that, losing life itself.

NO TIME FOR HALF WAY SERVICE.

From an Address at Southern Kansas Teachers' Convention, Independence, Kan., February 22, 1918.

Brought face to face every day with the heartaches of war, I loathe and abhor war more than ever before. But war—our war—is here and we must face it. We must face it with a high resolution to do everything—everything we can to defend our country and to further the cause of Right and Freedom. We must face this issue, my friends, face it without flinching or shirking. It may take every ounce of energy; every dollar of money; every particle of ability that this nation possesses to win the war for democracy; to make the world safe; to make America safe. We can have no slackers, no sulkers, no side-steppers, at home. Our work is even more important, more vital, more necessary than the work of the boys at the front. Because if we fail them, if we go back on them, if we do not support them to the bitter end, all their sacrifice will be in vain.

If I can convince the man and the woman who has not yet seen or felt these things; whose hearts have not yet responded to this deep, human appeal of the war; who are not yet doing even a small part of what everyone of us can do right here at home along with our daily duties; if I can convince them that they owe these boys something—everything—in partial return for the uttermost any man can offer of devotion, I shall be doing merely a small part of my duty. That is why I, who more than any one of you,

am in such constant touch with so much of the sorrow and the suffering and the sacrifice which has come from the breaking of these home ties, have come here to make the facts better known to you. We are going to stand by these homes and these men, who are doing the fighting for me and for you.

What sacrifice can the government ask of me—of you—that we can refuse to make? The man who doesn't help and help to the very limit of human endurance, is stabbing these brave boys in the back. Even a dog has a sense of gratitude.

It is time to stop finding fault, to cease complaining; we must take home to our hearts the fact that our boys—many of them already on the firing line, and a million more on the way—need our money and our energies. As they are giving their all, and going thru a living hell while they do it—away from home and friends—so we who are here in comfort must resolve likewise to give our all. Half-way devotion; half-way sacrifice; half-way service won't do. This nation wants no half-way Americans. We never have been half-way folks in Kansas. The number of American lives that will be lost in this awful struggle depends upon the support that we home folks give our boys at the front. The duration of the war depends upon how hard our army strikes and we at home have to put the punch into every blow it strikes. A speedy victory with the least loss of life, depends upon us. It—all—rests—with—us!

NO TIME FOR FAULT-FINDERS.

From an Address to Officers' Training Camp, at Fort Sheridan, Ill., November 20, 1917.

Of all the acts of my term as governor none has given me greater pleasure than the mission I am here to perform today. I come here as the messenger, the spokesman of a million and three quarter loyal, patriotic Kansans, to bring

to you their heartiest congratulations, to convey to you an expression of the sentiments of friendship and appreciation which the patriotic Kansas people hold not only for the Kansas boys in this camp but the kindly interest and affection which I know they have for every man in this camp who is wearing the uniform of an American soldier.

I want you to know that Kansas is with you and for you, believes in you, has faith in you, and will back you to the limit.

We have always been a peace-loving people in Kansas; we were not as keen, perhaps, as some of these Eastern states; we were in favor of keeping out of it as long as there seemed any possibility of honorably avoiding it, but from the day and hour that the government at Washington called for help, Kansas responded instantly. Now we're here ready for the fight. Kansas has always been ready for the fight, when there is fighting to be done.

In Kansas we say: Whatever our opinions may have been in the past—and there were honest differences of opinion as to whether America should enter the war—the time for argument and discussion of that question has passed. We are in the war, we are in it up to our necks, and when you get into war there is only one way to get out so far as we in Kansas have been able to discover, and that is to fight, to hit hard, to give them the very best there is in us, to fight in a way that will count, and stay with them until Prussianism and Old Kaiser Bill are wiped off the earth now and forever.

It is no time for slackers or kickers or fault finders; or for talking about what might have been or what ought to have been; I want you to know that in Kansas we have no sympathy with the kind who are excusing and explaining the sinking of the Lusitania, who seem to be doing everything in their power to block the game, and to obstruct the government program. We are saying to those fellows, if you can't help, if you won't fight for your country when it is in danger, for God's sake go 'way back and sit down.

To hell with the man who won't defend his country and stand by the flag when it is in danger. No citizen is worth a continental to his country if he won't stand up for it, defend it and fight for it in time of trouble.

There is but one side to this fight so far as we are concerned in Kansas; no middle ground, no neutral ground; but one side, and that's the side of the United States of America. They are either for America or against America. In Kansas, they are on the platform of the United States of America with both feet. I have been from one end of the state to the other in the last six weeks. Everywhere I find them giving loyal, whole-hearted, united support to the government. I have given public notice that if there is a man in Kansas who cannot give his undivided, devoted allegiance to the stars and stripes, the quicker he packs up his trunk and moves back to the kaiser's country the better for him and the better for us.

OUR WAR WITH GREED.

*From an Address at Fraternal Aid Patriotic Meeting,
Topeka, December 14, 1917.*

East and West, North and South, we are all beginning to appreciate that this country has as big a war on hand with greed as it has with Germany. President Wilson has asked Congress for more power to deal with our rampant profit hogs. Hoover declares, as I repeatedly have declared, that price regulation must regulate—not one—but all, or national efficiency will be undermined.

As yet, however, there is nothing to indicate in the prices we pay for things, that any regulating has been done. A Kansas hog on the hoof at 17 cents a pound, should cost not to exceed 25 cents a pound dressed. Hogs on foot at 17 cents do not justify 35 cents a pound for ham, and 50 cents a pound for bacon. Regulation has not yet brought prices down for the people in whose behalf regulation was under-

taken, and probably won't unless the people get right behind the President and their representatives in Congress to compel it.

I believe we should look this menacing situation straight in the face. Nothing is plainer than that this war can most successfully be waged and most safely financed by the square-deal plan and the pay-as-you-go plan. We cannot dodge an evil. We must grapple with it or be mastered by it. If we don't win this war, it will be our dollar-worshipping traitors, and not the Germans, who will defeat us.

With from 15 to 20 billion dollars of war appropriations to be spent yearly in this country during the war, nothing is surer than that big business will prosper. But to take only 1200 million dollars from incomes, and only 1220 millions from excess profits—a little more than 2 billions as the share of big business in paying for the war—and to demand 17 or 18 billions from the people as their share, is so rank an injustice and so reckless a war policy, that it almost makes profiteering safe and respectable by comparison.

We must begin right. If we adjust the burdens of the war so fairly they will not crush nor heavily oppress anyone, it means we shall shorten the war and lessen the carnage. You cannot make a pint measure hold a gallon. You cannot shift the rightful war taxes of a host of middlemen and the giants of big business onto the backs of the consumer, the wage-earner and the producer—you cannot let the profiteers and the fuel robber and the stomach robber hold the necessities of life and of employment out of their reach—and have a strong, an enduring and a united nation fit for the greatest war of all time.

But give the people a chance to live and work under supportable conditions, let them be convinced their government means to enforce a square deal in the division of war burdens and they will go thru every Hindenburg line until they reach Berlin. Anyone who says the people of Kansas, or of any other state in the Union, are not backing their government every step of the way in this war, is proved a

colossal liar by the facts. The common people have given Uncle Sam nine-tenths of his army and to date nine-tenths of the sinews of war. Far too much of the burden rests upon them. Now let the one-tenth, which owns most of the wealth and property of the United States and has supplied the men for one-tenth of the army, hand over its share. And if it won't, make it. Let's all be equally patriotic, each giving according to his means to the war and giving all he can give. That policy will not take from any man more than he is able to give and should give, but it will take that much. It will make the nation unconquerable. It will save thousands of lives. It will win the war.

DON'T FORGET THE BOYS IN THE CAMPS.

*From an Address at a Patriotic Rally at Coldwater, Kan.,
December 16, 1917.*

Did you ever try to put yourself in the place of the young fellow who is leaving home for the training camp and for the battlefield in a foreign land? He goes bravely. Apparently he goes cheerfully. But he goes knowing he may never again see the dear faces and the familiar scenes of the dearest place in all the world to him—his home, his old home neighborhood, the town and the people he has always known.

Then comes the day when the shores of his native land fade from his view. For days he sees nothing but water and sky. Home and the home folks seem a million miles away. Later he finds himself in a strange land, amid a strange people speaking a language he does not know. He is leading a new, a most trying, a vastly uncomfortable mode of life. Nothing is familiar or natural, not even the place in which he lies down at night. All the time he is being trained to meet a strange and savage foe. There are nights of watchfulness, hours of idle waiting in the day time, a wretched existence in dark and cold and damp

trenches, and finally the summons to go over the top. About all there is left in his consciousness of a world in which once dwelt the spirit of God, of kindness and humanity, is the memory of home and the home folks.

It is said that homesickness even affects horses, that amid strangers and strange surroundings, these dumb brutes have been known to refuse food. Imagine the ache then that often must come to the heart of the stoutest-hearted young soldier, when in the strange world into which he is transported there come to him thoughts of home. There is no feeling known to human beings that finds them so utterly forlorn and wretched, so pathetically and hopelessly deserted, friendless and bereft, as homesickness.

To be homesick is no reflection on a man's courage, or manhood. The best men are likely to feel it most. I have seen with my own eyes repeatedly at a training camp in which were thousands of young men not more than 100 miles from home, how eagerly mail time was awaited. How there was always a stampede for the hoped for letter and paper from home when the soldier mail carrier came in sight. How small scraps of information, bandied back and forth between men from the same locality, were given eager attention. A spirit of happiness seemed to light up the entire camp.

If you were to ask me what in my opinion would do most to make the American soldier a first-class fighting man and bring him home again safe, sound and clean of soul, my guess would be that it would be frequent letters from home and copies of the old home paper. Cheerful letters from mother, sister, wife, or sweetheart, filled with little inconsequential details of home affairs and the doings and the goings and comings of those at home, in the neighborhood and in the old home town. Letters from home make a soldier's life bearable. They hearten him like a strong tonic. He knows the love in that home is reaching out to him, far across the sea, to the land of hate and war, and that love is

a shield and buckler to him in moments that try men's souls and test their manhood.

Some of these men virtually have had no home, other than the locality from which they entered the army or the navy. It is here that such admirable organizations as the "Thirty-One Club" of Council Grove, Kan., help most. This club was formed to write letters and send papers to the Morris county boys in the service and it is doing a most Christian and patriotic service. It keeps posted in a public place, the name and address of every man who has entered the service from Morris county, and those who know them may write to them, which both the board and the club urge them to do. I cannot praise this plan too highly. I wish that this community and every community and the neighborhood having more than a very few men in the war, would adopt it. Nothing will accomplish so much for the well-being of your young soldiers who are fighting for their homes and the homefolks in a foreign land, or are getting ready to fight for them, as the knowledge that thoughts and the love and affection of the homefolks is following them day by day.

THE TIME TO PRACTICE THRIFT HABITS.

From a Public Appeal to the People of Kansas.

In providing funds for carrying on the Great War, it is imperative that the government's indebtedness be as widely distributed as possible. For patriotic reasons it is desirable that every citizen bear his full share of the war's burdens. For business and economic reasons it is imperative that the cost of the war be sustained so far as possible by thrift and sacrifices rather than by drafts upon the nation's capital or mortgages upon its future. From every point of view, therefore, the government issue of 2 billion dollars in War Savings Stamps and War Thrift Stamps must appeal to

the imagination, the business judgment and the patriotism of the American people.

Kansas will be asked to purchase 35 million dollars' worth of these Stamps and I appeal to all citizens in every walk of life to make the purchase of these Stamps a part of their patriotic duty thruout the coming year. Let the Stamps take the place of the ordinary Christmas gifts. Let every member of every family begin a collection of the 25-cent Thrift Stamps to be exchanged later for the interest-paying Savings Stamps. Kansas must show not only its loyalty to the nation, but must also demonstrate again its ability to sacrifice. The state has been built largely by the thrift of its sensible, economical people. We must show that we have not lost that homely virtue and that we are still ready to deny ourselves and to place the fruits of our denial at the disposal of our country. While the spirit of patriotism urges a liberal purchase of these baby bonds, self-interest also prompts investment in them. They yield a good rate of interest and afford an unequalled opportunity for the saving of small sums, which might otherwise be wasted.

No one can foretell how long the struggle in which we are engaged will continue, but we know that it will call for the supreme and united effort of the entire nation. No sum of money is too small to help. Uncle Sam needs all the loose change in the nation's pocket every day in the year, and I most heartily urge Kansas people to respond to the nation's call.

HOW A LITTLE GIRL HELPED TO WIN THE WAR.

*From an Address at Trinity Methodist Church, Wichita,
January 6, 1918.*

The thought we must constantly keep in mind is that we must do everything we possibly can, in every possible way we can, to help accomplish the big task before us. "Everything" in this case means the little things as well as the big

things. We must seek to help—as well as give our help when it is sought. We can all be a war committee of one to save shovelful of coal, to conserve scraps of food, to work small pieces of waste land and make them work, to buy baby bonds. It is by these little things, multiplied in millions of instances and in millions of homes, that we shall win, and so end the war.

We can never tell how far-reaching the smallest action may be. The day before I left Topeka for Camp Doniphan, a little girl—she told me her name was Dorothy—came into my office at the State House. I learned that her father was a Santa Fe switchman, living on Chandler street.

Chandler street is over on the East Side of Topeka. We don't show it to visitors. There are no big, fine looking houses over there.

She was a shy little thing, only 8 or 9 years old. I could see some mighty purpose was working in her mind. It had given her the courage she thought she needed to come into the exalted and awful presence of a governor—and all alone—and she such a little girl. I longed to pick her up in my arms and put her at ease, but feared if I reached for her she would run.

She edged closer and closer until finally she stood right by my desk, and little by little, in halting sentences, I found out what she wanted. Dorothy had heard her parents say I was going to Camp Doniphan and she knew that Christmas was coming. She knew Christmas was coming because she had a quarter of a dollar she was saving to buy a Christmas doll. But she had been thinking of the soldier boys she had seen march away. She wasn't sure Santa Claus would be able to find them. So she had brought me her precious quarter. And she begged me to take it to the soldiers to buy them some Christmas candy.

How I wished that room had been full of traitor profiteers. Not that I like to have such men around. But that they might see the switchman's little girl give me, out of the big generosity of her child heart, what was probably the

largest piece of money she had ever owned—a fortune almost—that I might take it to give to one of Uncle Sam's big soldier boys who ought to have a Christmas present!

It was her sacrifice for the war. And it was not extorted from her. She offered it. She had come all alone thru the imposing corridors of the big State House to give it to me. It was only 25 cents. Most folks would think that a trifle, hardly worth noticing, but it was all she had. I took Dorothy's quarter and put it in my vest pocket. Here it is.

But I didn't give that particular piece of money to the soldiers. Instead, I took up my pen and wrote a good-sized check to take the place of Dorothy's quarter, and delivered it to the Colonel of one of the Kansas regiments with instructions to spend it in a way that would make the soldier boys happy.

Dorothy got her doll on Christmas, but I have kept her little coin as a memento—a lasting reminder of the loving service of a tender little maid. My check multiplied the quarter many times, but its growth didn't stop there. I have told the story of Dorothy's quarter frequently in the last few weeks, and scores of men and women have said, "If Dorothy could give up her Christmas money, we, too, can make a little greater sacrifice than we had counted on. We, too, will give until the giving is a real sacrifice."

Dorothy's sacrifice has been an example to me and to hundreds of others; and I hope that you, too, will catch her spirit and overlook no opportunity, be it great or small, to help in the fight for freedom.

THE TESTING FIRE AND OUR HOUR OF TRIAL.

*From an Address to the Topeka Trades and Labor Council,
April 16, 1918.*

Capital, labor, states and governments are all being tested as by fire—in the darkest hour before what I believe is to be the most splendid dawn the world ever has seen. We

have only to stand true, but that is going to demand every ounce of principle and every ounce of energy and of loyalty we have in us. The Test has come—is here.

As a nation we have created enormous wealth and we talk of prosperity. We talk sometimes as if increasing wealth means decreasing poverty. No one knows better than you that it does not mean that in this country and it never has meant that in any country. The richest cities have and always have had, the most dire and degrading poverty. It ought not to be so. I do not believe it always will be so.

There must be no backward step taken at this time. Laboring men and labor organizations are willing and must be willing to make sacrifices that we may win the war; but it is not necessary for Labor to sacrifice Principle any more than it is necessary for the Church to give up the eternal principles upon which it is founded. Labor is willing to do its part; but it will not agree that the war be made an excuse for the overturning and sweeping aside of what it has won by years of patient striving. It will not agree to the importation of coolie labor or cheap Porto Rican labor to displace American labor; it will not agree to the breaking of child-labor laws, of the 8-hour day laws, nor to the ignoring, in the alleged interest of speed and increased production, of any of the fundamental things that it has won for humanity.

I am not here to speak in a spirit of pessimism nor of fault-finding. I would not for one moment have you think that things are hopelessly wrong, despite the awful holocaust in which we are involved. Indeed, I am happy in the belief that the world really grows better from age to age. Otherwise, I should not have the faith and courage to face my little part in the battle against autocracy. I have the courage to help save the world because the world is worth saving. Outside of junker-ridden Germany, the world is nearer the long-sought Brotherhood of Man than ever before. The hour of trial that has come to us—the testing fire thru which we are passing—has revealed our true selves

to ourselves; and while there are those so craven as to be willing to fatten upon their country's necessity, men dominated by greed instead of conscience, the great heart of America has beaten with patriotic fervor, and as a people we have said: "Here am I, what wilt thou have me do?"

THE MORALE OF OUR ARMY.

*From an Address at the War Council, Memorial Hall,
Topeka, January 17, 1918.*

The production of larger crops and the thrifty conservation of foodstuffs, necessary and vitally important as they are, are only the beginning of our duty. We've got to dig down into our pockets and give, and give, and keep on giving until we think we can't give another cent, and then start in and do it all over again. We must keep this up until the last vestige of autocratic militarism is swept from the face of the earth, and our boys come back home to peace and prosperity.

We've got to pay taxes cheerfully—such taxes as we never dreamed of paying, billions and billions of dollars.

We've got to lend our money to Uncle Sam and hustle all the harder to get more to lend to him.

We've got to contribute millions and millions to the war work the government must leave to us to do.

The calls for voluntary contributions are only **beginning**; they will press upon us with increasing frequency and stronger urging and we must meet them without hesitation. There must not be a slacker in Kansas.

The strength, the punch, the get-there-ness of our army depends upon its morale. Its mental condition is almost as important as its physical condition. Within the last few months I have talked with famous statesmen and generals of the old world. They all tell me that discontented, unhappy men do not win battles. Neither can dissipated, diseased men make effective soldiers.

It is the work of the army Y. M. C. A. to keep our men fit for the fight—fit mentally, fit morally, fit physically; and recreation; to keep our boys in touch with the home to prevent homesickness; to provide wholesome amusements spirit; to keep up the educational and religious work necessary to the development of character—in short, to make better men and better soldiers and better citizens of the boys we are sending to the Great Sacrifice. Aside from all reasons of humanity; aside from our feeling that nothing is too good for the defenders of Right; aside from our desire to render the sacrifices that our boys are making as light as possible, aside from all sentiment, is the big fact that this work is absolutely necessary and we at home must provide the means by which it can be done.

When I was at Camp Funston, General Wood told me that in his twenty-five years of experience in the army he never had seen anything like the revolution that had been effected in morale and discipline by establishing the dry zone. He said that under ordinary circumstances the guard house in such a camp as Camp Funston would have an average population of 200. Then turning to the telephone he made inquiry as to the number of men under arrest and learned there was just one. Just one man in the guard house out of 35,000 soldiers and his offense was not drunkenness, not brawling, but a small infraction of some little rule.

“Nothing like such order,” said General Wood to me, “has ever been known before in a military camp. I find,” he went on to say, “that the Kansas boys and men grade far higher in morals, obedience and stamina than the men of other camps in times past. The percentage of vice diseases among them is the smallest that has ever before been found in a camp and the discipline is the best I have ever seen. We attribute this,” said the general, “to the dry zone order, and to Kansas prohibition which prevents the sale of liquor. These Kansas boys were brought up in clean atmosphere—they started right.”

But what General Wood said to me when I came away I think is the very finest and the very highest tribute that has ever been paid to Kansas.

"You can tell the Kansas people for me," said he, "that they have got the finest, the cleanest, the healthiest, and the most vigorous soldiers in point of endurance we have ever seen. The official records show this."

Doesn't that repay you for everything you have done in the past to strengthen the enforcement of the prohibitory law?

It is to protect these Kansas boys on the other side of the ocean that I am appealing to you. As General Wood has said, the boys have started right. If they remained here in Kansas and were facing life under normal conditions we would not feel our present concern for their moral welfare. But they are going to France and to other parts of Europe where custom and the moral code are entirely different. It is going to be a supreme test of their manhood. Are we going to help them to maintain the home influences? This is the crucial question. Its answer is your greatest call to duty.

Our boys must be taken care of over there. Do all that we can; give all that we can; it is little enough to compensate them for the sacrifices they are making. But aside from all sentiment is the big fact that this work must be done in order to render our army efficient and the government looks to us men and women of Kansas to do our full share to support this part of the war's activities. This work concerns us deeply, whether we have a son's or daughter's future in mind. Fathers and mothers, let this warning sink into your consciousness.

We are waging war today in the cause of Right and Freedom. We do not know how long it will continue, but in God's good time it will end and the millions of young men who are now bearing arms will come back to take up the duties of civil life. They will be the husbands of our girls. They will be the leaders of their generation. On

them will rest the burden of reconstructing the world after this deluge of blood has receded. God grant that they come back clean in body and mind with high ideals and noble aspirations, fit to take up the great burden that will fall to them. If they do not; if they fail in this; if they come back to us dissipated wrecks, or blighted at the core by the seeds of dissipation, the world will be worse off than if the Prussian Huns had conquered the world. We must win this war not for the mere sake of winning, but to make the world a safe place; a decent place; a better place to live in and the world will not be that unless our boys come back sound and true men.

This then is the work which your government calls upon you and me to aid: We are to extend some few of the comforts of life to the boys who are fighting our battles for us. We must be the ones to give them a little wholesome cheer that will relieve homesickness and dispel discouragement. The providing of recreation and amusements for them when off duty; the keeping up of home ties and the home spirit; the safeguarding of morals; the development of character and manhood, so that every American soldier who comes home, shall come back able to look his mother, his wife or his sweetheart in the face—or, if he should fall, who can face the Great Beyond with the courage and the calmness of a Christian gentleman. This is the work you are asked to do, and no true American can close his ears to the appeal.

OUR VALIANT ALLIES.

From an Address Delivered at the Topeka Auditorium on the Occasion of the Visit to Topeka of Sir Frederick Smith, Attorney General of Great Britain, Who Was the Guest of Governor Capper, January 17, 1918.

I am sure I voice the sentiments of all Kansans here assembled when I say to the distinguished attorney general of our powerful ally, Great Britain, who comes to tell us something of the great struggle in which we are engaged

and to give us renewed encouragement, we bid you welcome with all our hearts. While the people of America are sprung from many races, while all nationalities are represented here, it still is true that America as a nation looks on England as the mother country, and in joining in this battle for world freedom from the Hun, America is proud of the fact that her chief and greatest ally is the country back to which most Americans trace their ancestry. As Sir Frederick goes about America he finds no doubt many things that are unfamiliar to his British eyes, but I am sure he has learned that in patriotic fervor, in zealous endeavor to bring the whole strength of our great nation into the war, in willingness to sacrifice and in determination not to give up the fight, America is a fair partner for his own country and that American soldiers are fit comrades for that splendid army of brave sons of Britain who have stood immovable and indomitable between the Germans and the channel ports.

If America was slow to awaken to the menace of the Hun, if she was deliberate about getting into the war, she is now determined to make up for lost time. It is true that at first the majority of Americans could not see that this was our war. That was attributable largely to the traditional American policy to avoid mixing in European politics. So long as the war wore the aspect of a quarrel between the European nations, Americans were loath to have any part in it. But when Germany thru her ruthless submarine policy made it plain that all who were not with her are against her, even the neutral nations; when the repeated butcheries of the Hun in Belgium and Poland and Serbia had aroused the flaming indignation of mankind; when butcheries of helpless women and children on land and sea became the settled policy of the kaiser, then America saw that the war was more than a European quarrel, that it was an attack on civilization itself, and that our place was by the side of little Belgium and Great Britain and France and Italy who were fighting the battle of civilization and of

righteousness. America has had no doubts, either as to the rectitude of her decision and conduct, or as to the outcome. She is in with every ounce of her strength, in for a fight to a finish, and in for but a single purpose—to crush autocracy beyond power ever again to raise its mailed fist in defiance against the world.

It is a privilege for Topeka and Kansas to have these distinguished representatives of our great ally come among us, to see for themselves the strength of our purpose, the quality of our courage, the firmness of our determination, and I hope and I believe as they go back to England to take up again the duties of their responsible positions, they will go with a conviction that we are an ally worthy of their confidence. As an earnest of the purpose of Kansas and Kansas people to stand unflinchingly with the nation by the side of our allies, I extend to Sir Frederick my right hand and give him a good old-fashioned Kansas handshake. When Kansans shake hands it means the bargain is made and this handshake is symbolic of America's unshakable determination to be a worthy ally in this great war.

THE PEOPLE'S TURN NEXT.

From an Address at Farmers' Union Meeting at Smith Center, Kan., February 4, 1918.

In taking over the railways the government guarantees them not only the customary and ample profits on their investment but to maintain and improve their property at public expense. No wonder railroad stocks bounded upward when these generous terms were announced.

The coal operators have been allowed admittedly high profits by the government to stimulate production. They may lawfully and patriotically charge more for coal than the profiteer prices of a year ago.

The packers are guaranteed ample returns.

The millers are smiling.

The steel and copper trusts are happy.

War burdens are now resting lightly everywhere except on the American home. The sorely pressed people are paying not a legitimate high price but profiteer rates for every necessity. They are feeling the pressure more and more. They have been voted unanimously the office of burden carrier to big business, little business and intermediate business, to shoulder their war taxes, with something more added, piled onto and transmitted to the burden-bearing consumer in terms of higher prices. Every day it is becoming more pressingly important that the government earnestly direct its full powers toward giving the American home and the American consumer a square deal.

It is not good business, nor good strategy to make the struggle for existence more momentous to the American people than the war.

Vigorous prosecution of eastern profiteers who grafted on army hat contracts, is promised. But that is not enough. The least the public demands and hopes for is vigorous, prompt and fitting punishment. No doubt many other grafters are watching to see what shall be done with these men.

When the officers of the print paper combine held up publishers in the United States for millions of dollars, and were found guilty, these exploiters were fined \$2,500 apiece! And many a publisher in a country town paid them the price of this fine in excess profits. To be compelled to give up something less than a microscopical one-half of one-thousandth per cent of his ill-gotten wealth for a million or two of dollars, can only make the exploiter a hog for such punishment. For such a license to steal he would willingly divide "fifty-fifty" with the government or even twenty-five-seventy-five.

It should be a capital crime to exploit the people at any time, punishment to be commuted to a long term of imprisonment, but grafting in time of war should merit the drum-head court martial and the fate the army metes out to traitors.

THE CLEAN SOLDIER THE BEST FIGHTER.

*From an Address to 137th Regiment of Kansas Soldiers at
Camp Doniphan, February 25, 1918.*

Men, you are going out to battle for the best government on earth ; it's the government most worth fighting for. You are going out to fight to keep it for our own ; you are going out to fight for as righteous a cause as ever a soldier contended for and you and I and every man in America who has got the red blood of an American in him, owes to the government the best there is in him until a victory is won.

But there is not a man in all America who thinks for a moment that Germany will win this war. It may take a year or two or possibly longer to do the job, but we are going to win because this nation does not start something it cannot finish ; we are going to win because we are in the right and fighting for a righteous cause ; we are going to win because the American boys, 160,000 of them in France today, and a half million there by the middle of March, the boys from Illinois, from Iowa, from Missouri, from Indiana, from Wisconsin, and Kansas, will deliver the final punch that can and will win. You are going over there to give old Kaiser Bill a smashing wallop, the most complete, the most thoro and the best licking that ever was given to any royal potentate on earth.

I would go with you myself if I could, I would be proud to wear that uniform. I cannot do that, but I can help, I can and will back to the limit the boys who are going to the front. Everything within my power will be done to aid and care for the men who are going out to do our fighting. I shall make it my business to see that the people who remain at home while you go to the front shall do their duty, shall bear a part of the burden. It's not fair to ask the men in uniform to make all the sacrifice.

Gentlemen, I congratulate you. The people at home are proud of you. They have unbounded faith in you. They believe in you. They know you will do your duty. We want you to take care of yourselves. Keep yourselves fit and ready for the fight. Army men, men who have risen to high rank, who have had years of experience, tell me that the real test of a soldier is not his courage and bravery under fire, but his ability to keep himself in good fighting trim, to be ready always to hit the line hard. It's the manhood behind the gun that wins the battle. It's the clean soldier who makes the best and most efficient soldier. It's the man who is strong physically and clean morally who always makes the best fighting man. America is going to set an example for all Europe by sending over there the cleanest fighters the world ever has known.

Let me assure you that we have an affectionate interest in every one of you. When you get thru this big job and return to your homes, everything will be yours. God bless you and good luck to every one of you.

THE HOGS OF HOG ISLAND.

*From an Address at Metropolitan Temple, Kansas City,
March 5, 1918.*

With a capital stock of \$2,000 the American International Ship-Building Corporation is supplying the "know-how" in a 200-million-dollar job requiring the building of the big government shipyard at Hog Island, Pa., and a few ships. All the money is being put up by the government, but the work is costing so far beyond the very liberal estimate allowed for the work that it is suspected the chief "know-how" of this corporation consists in knowing how to skin the government.

This ship-building concern is the child of the American International Corporation directed by fifteen of the biggest financiers in the United States. It was created to take

the Hog Island job, but its loose management and reckless expenditure of government money already have become such a scandal that it is now being investigated by the Department of Justice with a view to criminal prosecutions while a separate investigation is being conducted by a committee of the Senate.

Indignation will be loud and reverberant at the striking workers in American shipyards, but in the case of the eminently respectable frock-coats who stung the nation in the Hog Island contract—apparently the old formula obtains of Addition, Division—and Silence.

The financier gentlemen who stand in the background of this Hog Island deal are some of our most resplendent and self-sacrificing millionaire and billionaire patriots. Several of them, as we have several times been told in the press reports, have given up their own business affairs entirely and torn themselves from home and comfort, to go to Washington to work for Unele Sam at \$1 a year. It may be some of them, or many of them, are patriotically working for 100 cents a year and their country. It would greatly please the American people to think so and to do hero worship at their doors instead of taking the sordid view that many of our financiers and directing heads of great industries give us so much cause to take by proving to us again and again that they care only for money, strive only for money, and worship only money.

Big business, well-buttressed and provided for in this war by an indulgent government, by hook, or crook—with or without the leave of government regulation—is making more profits than ever before and Congress only asks it to pay a ridiculously small per cent of the cost of the war while the people are saddled with the big load and continue to pay profiteer prices to these beneficiaries of the people and the government of the United States.

At least let us be glad there is a limit and that it appears to have been reached by the hogs of Hog Island.

The people will note with strong approval and strengthened confidence that of the two investigations promptly set going in the Hog Island deal, one was started by the Senate, supposed to be the bulwark of wealth, and the other by the President, and that both are getting results and are on the right track.

PATRIOTISM AND PROFITS.

From an Address at the Annual Fall Festival at Melvern, Kan., August 22, 1918.

We believe out here in the West that war is the most serious thing in the world. We believe that war cannot be a half-hearted thing—that when a nation goes into it, it goes the whole way—not half way. We believe that we must put into it every power of the nation—not part of our power. And we believe that that means money-power as well as man-power.

We see Uncle Sam turn to the man-power on the farms, in the shops, in the stores and in the mines of the nation, and say in the first year of the war, to 2 million of the pick of his sons, “I want you to leave your business, your home, your family—give up all your earning power and come to work in this holy cause. I will lose many of you. Many of you never will return, but this is your duty; you are a slacker if you flinch!” And more than a million and a half of the youth of the land have cheerfully and loyally answered that call, laying their lives and their fortunes upon their country’s altar.

The people of the nation, thru Uncle Sam, are not asking anything so revolutionary as treating billions the same way we treat boys. We don’t ask Capital to give itself as the boys do; we only ask that it give us a part of its excess earnings.

That’s all we are asking of Capital in the income tax and the excess profits tax; and to most reasonable persons it

would seem fair enough. But the custodians of wealth can't see it that way; they are moving heaven and earth and Congress in an effort to escape any such arrangement. They say:

"It's all right to sacrifice the boys. That's patriotism, and it's a great thing to encourage patriotism. But Capital must not be disturbed. Don't tax it; we'll show you a better way than that, Uncle Sam. Just write out your note of hand for a few billion dollars every month or so, at a good rate of interest, and we'll let you have all the money you want. And your people can take the next fifty years to pay off the debt. It will give your boys something to think about and something to work for when they get back from the war, if they ever do get back."

I may mistake the American people, but I don't believe they will ever assent to that arrangement. We have no contempt for money out here in the West; but we don't place a higher value upon it than we place upon our boys. The most of us would rather sacrifice our fortunes than our boys; at least, we want the boy to have an even break; and in this terrible business we ask that the nation make at least as great a demand upon money as upon men. Use all the powers of the nation, Uncle Sam.

The 4 million men who will be overseas by next summer are giving up all chance of making big profits out of the war. They will pile up no swollen fortunes. We ask that the stay-at-homes forego that opportunity, too. We ask that they be restrained from exploiting the public and from gouging Uncle Sam and that all the profits of big business above normal profits, and that of swollen incomes above a reasonable amount, be placed at the disposal of the government along side of the lives of our young men. And it is little enough we ask. It is only justice.

NO TIME FOR QUIBBLING WHEN OUR BOYS ARE DYING.

*From a Speech Opening Red Cross Drive in Harper
County, May 12, 1918.*

We have been too easy with those who spread sedition and disloyalty. We are fighting now for the very existence of our homes and schools and democratic ideals, and there is no place in this state for any citizen who is not willing to put everything on his country's altar. Every man must throw all of himself back of the government. There is no half-way business about this war game.

It is no time now to quibble or complain when our boys are fighting and dying at the front. Our money, and the best that we have, is needed right now to save the lives of those boys. The government has drafted the young men. Isn't it time to draft the money that is piling up in the banks? What good will all our money do if we get licked by the Huns? I promised the President and I promised the National War Council that we would back our government with all Kansas has—with the courage, the devotion, the spirit of sacrifice, and the unconquerable determination shown by its pioneers. I told them Kansas would back the government at Washington to the limit, that Kansas would be one of the first to go over the top for the Liberty bonds, that we would respond to every call the government made upon us. That pledge is being kept faithfully and loyally.

The government has taken our boys but it has not asked us as yet to give our all. We are asked only to do our part. And if we do our part promptly, cheerfully, all of us joining, we can end this bloody tragedy with fewer sacrifices of lives and without being forced to give up everything. Every red-blooded American hates a traitor and scorns a slacker—most of all the pocketbook slacker.

A WARNING TO DISLOYALISTS.

*From an Address to State Guards at Canton, Kan.,
April 30, 1918.*

Complaint has been made to me that the Non-Partisan League, which has a large membership in this county, is a disloyal organization. No proof of this has been presented to me, but let me say that in a crisis like this there should be no question about anyone's loyalty. I want the citizens of McPherson county to send me evidence of pro-German propaganda or seditious utterances on the part of any individual or of any organization what so ever. If the organization is standing squarely and loyally by the government its members need have no fear. Every organization has abundant opportunity now to let the world know where it stands. We cleaned out the I. W. W. in Kansas last summer and we are ready for any other crowd that is not absolutely and thoroly loyal to the government. There can be no half-way loyalty at this time. You are either for the United States or for the kaiser. You have got to line up with Uncle Sam or leave Kansas. We now have nearly one hundred state guard units who will see that disloyalty does not get a foothold in Kansas.

Disloyalty is not confined to the little fellow. I know a number of Kansas bankers who did not subscribe for Liberty bonds until they were forced to buy. I want evidence against the big slackers as well as the little slackers. If you know of any price-gouging or profiteering, give me the facts. The grafting profiteers who fill their pockets while the boys are in the trenches are traitors just as much as German spies. The people are willing to give up every dollar to win the war, but they want to know it is spent honestly. They will not tolerate grafting and gouging,

any more than they will disloyalty and treachery to the government.

Kansas has no time in this crisis to waste in listening to disloyal agitators; and will show no mercy to slackers or traitors who interfere with the patriotic work of our citizens.

You are organized to uphold law and order, and your first duty as soldiers and as citizens is to discourage that spirit which leads to mob violence; that spirit which prompts men at times under the stress of excitement to take the law into their own hands. It is especially important that we keep this in mind. The public is in no mood to show patience with slackers or with traitors; and in this the public is right. We have no place in Kansas for the disloyal citizen. But the regularly constituted authorities are amply able to cope with such cases, and we must not, in a hot-headed moment, countenance lawlessness even to avenge a crime. It is your duty as sworn upholders of the constitution and the laws of this state to be prompt in your personal condemnation of the mob spirit, and to respond instantly should the necessity of suppressing it arise.

It is your duty to watch for evidences of disloyalty; to listen for unpatriotic utterances; to detect the traitor before he commits his crime. Use judgment and discretion. Report suspects to your captain, who will in turn report them to headquarters at Topeka, and together we will ferret out and stamp out the last vestige of pro-Germanism in the Sunflower State.

MUST SEE THE WAR THRU.

*From a Memorial Day Speech at Fort Scott, Kan.,
May 30, 1918.*

The most noble of all our public holidays is, I think, this day, the day on which we meet to honor and to mourn the dead. Speaking here and now—and in this year of all years—I believe I voice the thought of every thinking

Kansan when I suggest we try to show today by word and by deed how much we honor and revere and love and respect the living remnant of the Old Guard of the '60s. Fifty-eight years ago they offered their all that this nation might live to save the world for freedom in this dark hour. They were the state builders of Kansas. They have made us what we are, the most virile, the most American, of all the American states and peoples.

Some of the boys of the '60s are here today with the girls they left behind them 58 years ago. Now they are the grandfathers and grandmothers of the boys who have just left our Kansas girls behind them. No finer boys ever took up arms in any war than those Kansas boys, and Freedom's banner blesses and floats lovingly o'er them in a foreign land. It is these boys who most truly do honor to the gray-haired boys and women of the '60s.

We still have 15,000 of the "boys in blue" living in Kansas today, all of them bound to see another war thru. The kaiser has given them a new lease of life by rousing the fighting spirit in them. May they survive him and kaiserism many years is my fervent wish.

We must get into this war with all our might, see it thru, stay with it until the war brings forth what Lincoln called a new birth of freedom. The more anxiously we desire peace the more aggressively and loyally we should back our fighting forces. We must keep up the fight until we win a complete victory; not a half-way victory. Of course, we all want this war to end as soon as possible, but we must not think for a moment of a dishonorable compromise; we must not think for a moment of an inconclusive peace. We must settle this question once and for all. The man or woman who falters or doubts now is a traitor to the greatest cause of liberty the world ever has known. It is no time for half-hearted loyalty. We are either for Uncle Sam or for the kaiser.

We have put the flag on the firing line and valiant men behind it. Don't doubt for a moment that our boys will

carry the old flag thru to Berlin and victory. We at home must back up the boys on the firing line until humanity and justice and democracy and freedom have triumphed.

TAKE CARE OF THE BOYS ABROAD.

From an Address at the Annual Christian Endeavor Convention, McPherson, June 12, 1918.

Important as the work is in the training camps in this country, still greater is the need of its work among our soldiers abroad where the life will be so much harder; the discouragements so much greater; the temptations so much more difficult to resist. Evil women and rotten men will try in many ways to tempt him to do the things he should not do.

Our boys must be taken care of over there. Do all that we can; give all that we can; it is little enough to compensate them for the sacrifices they are making. But aside from all sentiment is the big fact that this work must be done in order to render our army efficient and the government looks to us men and women of Kansas to do our full share to support this part of the war's activities.

What we do in the way of maintaining clean military camps not only serves our boys, but it is already creating a different atmosphere in the armies of the Allies. These people who have thought that license and a certain amount of dissipation were an unavoidable part of a soldier's life, are beginning to see that the American idea of clean bodies and clean minds makes better fighting men and greatly increases their effectiveness and endurance. It is not too much to hope that the example the American army will set in France and in Flanders, the ideals which we uphold, will have a lasting effect, not simply upon the armies of our Allies, but upon the character of all Europe. No one can foretell the momentous consequences for all eternity of the \$50 or the \$100 that you contribute to this great work.

We are waging war today in the cause of Right and Freedom. We do not know how long it will continue, but in God's good time it will end and the millions of young men who are now bearing arms will come back to take up the duties of civil life. They will be the husbands of our girls. They will be the leaders of their generation. On them will rest the burden of reconstructing the world after this deluge of blood has receded. God grant that they come back clean in body and mind with high ideals and noble aspirations, fit to take up the great burden that will fall to them. If they do not; if they fail in this; if they come back to us dissipated wrecks, or blighted at the core by the seeds of dissipation, the world will be worse off than if the Prussian Huns had conquered the world. We must win this war not for the mere sake of winning, but to make the world a safe place; a decent place; a better place to live in, and the world will not be that unless our boys come back sound and true men.

This then is the work which your government calls upon you and me to aid: We are to extend some few of the comforts of life to the boys who are fighting our battles for us. We must be the ones to give them a little wholesome cheer that will relieve homesickness and dispel discouragement. The providing of recreation and amusement for them when off duty; the keeping up of home ties and the home spirit; the safeguarding of morals; the development of character and manhood, so that every American soldier who comes home, shall come back able to look his mother, his wife or his sweetheart in the face—or, if he should fall, who can face the Great Beyond with the courage and the calmness of a Christian gentleman. This is the work you are asked to do, and no true American can close his ears to the appeal.

KEEP THE FLAG FLYING.

From an Address at Annual Convention of Anti-Saloon League, Topeka, June 18, 1918.

Every additional bushel of wheat, of corn, of grain that we can produce; every additional hog, steer or sheep that we can raise, will help to win. But that isn't patriotism, and nothing else, it's good business sense—the taking advantage of a good business opportunity.

But the production of larger crops and the thrifty conservation of foodstuffs, necessary and vitally important as they are, are only the beginning of our duty. We've got to dig down into our pockets and give, and give, and keep on giving until we think we can't give another cent, and then start in and do it all over again.

We can buy a Liberty bond. That is encouragement to thrift as well as a manifestation of patriotism.

We can all contribute something to the Y. M. C. A. and the Red Cross fund.

We can also encourage the children to save their pennies for the Red Cross fund.

Kansas women, I am glad to say, in almost every community have organized themselves into congenial groups of workers to make supplies for Red Cross hospitals and the men in the camps. Their industry is untiring.

We can write appreciative and encouraging letters to the soldiers. We can see that the families they have left at home are not neglected.

This, then, is the work your government is asking us to do, and no true American can close his ears to the appeal.

We can and must stand unitedly on all questions affecting the war.

We can, we must and we will, keep the spirit of patriotism and unity strongly alive. And we must not forget that

the flag on our home and the flag on the motor car are continual reminders of our country's need in this hour.

There is a great and true saying that "The homes of the nation are its strongest forts." This expresses our situation exactly. I can make no truer statement than to tell you that an early ending of the war, and a just and true ending of it, depends even more upon the home folks than upon the army. Therefore, let each of us omit no act or duty that can in any possible way contribute to the devoutly wished for result.

HITTING OUR STRIDE.

From an Address at Cherryvale, Kan., July 21, 1918.

The American who has not felt a surge of pride sweep over him as he has watched the nation get into its war stride these last few weeks, has a patriotism below normal. As a people at war, we have struck our gait. The world is amazed and so are we. We are breaking precedents daily and doing the "impossible" frequently.

It amounts to a wonderful demonstration of efficiency by a great democracy actuated by one common purpose. Its driving force is 100 million will-power strong. It means the certain defeat of that other kind of efficiency, the slave-driven efficiency of the iron fist.

Six months ago we were like a giant slowly awakening. Our training camps were not supplied, our men were not equipped, the submarine was sinking ships faster than all the world could build them. Washington was struggling with a task of such magnitude that Europe considered its achievement impossible. And apparently we were getting nowhere with it.

Then the President and the people got together. Red tape methods were cut. Such executive and administrative geniuses as Stettinius, Schwab, Goethals, Baruch and Hurley were called in. Order came out of chaos. America's great war engine began to move.

Six months ago we had only 187,928 troops in Europe. America's "contemptibly small army," the Prussian war lords called it. It is now well over a million and increasing more than 100,000 a week. By January 1, we shall have 3 million men under arms, the finest army and the fightingest army the world ever saw.

In the meantime, while supplying and increasing that fast-growing army, America's "embattled farmers" have sent hundreds of shiploads of wheat and beef to our Allies, and 6 million pounds of food to starving Belgium. And our great bridge of boats across the Atlantic is carrying bigger loads every day.

It foretells the doom of militarism, the dawn of a new and better world.

The American people have had the vision of "the coming of the Lord." They are "trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored." They are marching on—to end all war, to save a blood-soaked world!

Was there ever a more glorious time to live, a more glorious heritage than simply to be an American citizen?

100 PER CENT AMERICANISM.

From an Address at Olathe, Kan., Fourth of July, 1918.

If the war has done nothing else it has aroused in the hearts of the true men and women of this country a love of native land. America is awake; and from this time the test of citizenship—of manhood and womanhood—will be Americanism. It must be 100 per cent pure. The citizen of this country who does not believe in American institutions, in American traditions, in American ideas and ideals, has no place among us. No matter where he was born, no matter what his training and education, he must from this day forth stand four-square with American ideals. He must rid himself of the pernicious doctrines of German origin and show by word and deed that he is in very truth, in hearty

sympathy and in full accord with what the American nation stands for.

The citizen who is not doing his full part in this war; who is not working with all his might for our cause; who is not contributing to the utmost of his ability to the government and to war work; who is not making the war his first thought day and night, is a slacker in action and disloyal at heart. We have no place for him in the state of Kansas, and the community which does not see to it that such citizens are promptly brought to time stultifies itself and partakes of his guilt. This is a time when we are judged by the company we keep; and I urge you as I urge the people of every community in Kansas to see that your town, your county, and your state is made 100 per cent American.

Give us an Americanism that is not profiteering in patriotism. It is time for straight-out Americanism of the simon-pure, unadulterated, 100 per cent kind, with no ifs, ands, nor buts about it.

We want in Kansas and we are going to have it, that sort of Americanism which will put the good of country above personal advantage, gain or profit; an Americanism at home that is willing and glad to make personal sacrifices in some degree commensurate with the sacrifices made by the strong young men of the nation who are leaving all, risking all and giving all with a happy smile upon their lips.

We want an Americanism that places God and country above every other consideration in the world—an Americanism in keeping with that of the noble women of the state who gave their sons and husbands to the war, dearer than life itself—hiding their tears while their hearts were breaking.

We want an Americanism, not of the shoot-mouth variety—the kind that talks big and does little—but an Americanism that will sacrifice and sacrifice again and still again. There is no room in Kansas, today, for the Hun-American. The loud-mouthed variety, the silly fools, who know more than the combined wisdom of the American people and

their chosen representatives, have been pretty effectively silenced.

The open traitor has been driven to cover. The notorious slacker in most communities has become a marked man. But there are still at large a few skunks and reptiles, some of them loud in their professions of loyalty, who by sly hints and innuendo, are spreading poison skillfully calculated to create suspicion and unrest among our people.

There are still at large men who brazenly hamper war work in order to gain some selfish end or to pull down a rival or competitor; men who discourage Red Cross workers; oppose conservation and spread abroad lies about conscientious men who are giving time and effort to aid the government. These Huns at home are a thousand-fold more dangerous than the ignorant, foolish foreigner who has not yet been thoroly Americanized, and it is against them that Kansas must be upon its guard.

We want an Americanism that is not profiteering in patriotism.

A FIGHT TO A FINISH AND NO DELAYS.

*From a Campaign Speech at Halstead, Kan.,
August 8, 1918.*

I shall make this campaign on a "Win-the-war" platform. If I go to Washington I shall go to help in every possible way in a vigorous and determined prosecution of the war. I shall stand for a fight to the finish for a complete victory for world-freedom and for a permanent peace policy. We must not stop fighting until we have destroyed Prussianism and made another war impossible.

I shall support every measure that will be of advantage in winning the war. It is inconceivable to me that any Kansan elected to serve the people in the councils of the nation shall let politics interfere in any way with his paramount duty. I know I shall have no other purpose than to stand squarely with the President in every effort to push

the war to a complete and speedy victory. And most certainly I shall do nothing so monstrous as to block or embarrass legislation of any kind for mere political effect or any supposed party expediency; and in this, I shall be doing, in the main, little if any more than the Republicans in Congress have consistently done in standing by the President in the present emergency, when he and the country most needed their support.

I shall stand for equality of sacrifice. Wealth must carry its share of the burden, along with our drafted sons and brothers, and big incomes be required to pay their adequate proportion of war costs.

Profiteering in war supplies and in the necessities of life must be ended. The plunderers and gougers who are taking advantage of the war to rob the people must be kept within bounds or put out of business.

I shall stand, as I always have stood, for national prohibition, and for national equal suffrage. These are Kansas ideas that are good for the whole people.

I shall do my best to take to the Senate of the United States the ideas, the aims, the motives that dominate the forward-looking, patriotic people of this state. If I can give adequate expression to the Kansas mind and to Kansas ideals, I know that I shall render a genuine service to you people of Kansas and to the nation.

AMERICA CAN DELIVER THE KNOCK-OUT BLOW.

From an Address at Ottawa Fair, September 18, 1918.

The day of victory depends upon how hard we fight from this minute until the end; upon how earnestly we Americans on this side of the Atlantic, buckle down to our war tasks; upon how thoroly we back up the boys at the front.

Our Allies, after four years of devastating war, cannot be expected to increase their strength to the winning point. They frankly say that we must supply the extra force that

is needed. And the foe, tho the tide has turned against him, is not yet beaten. "It's a long way to Berlin." America, from now on, must put the extra steam into the drive, the extra punch into the blow.

This punch must have all America behind it. The government will comb the country for slackers, and see that they are put into their proper place. But what about the worse-than-slacker, the men who prey upon their country's need; the men and corporations who hold up the public and make living difficult and life miserable for the great masses of people? What about enemy greed of this nature? If America is to deliver the knock-out blow, which we alone can deliver, we must be freed from these parasites. The next step toward smashing Potsdam is to lick the American profiteers.

We are going to win. We are not going to stop short of a complete victory. There will be no inconclusive, negotiated peace. Germany must be brought to the point where she will take the terms the Allies offer. But she will not be brought to that point until we call a halt to the organized greed that is diverting our effort and our resources to selfish purposes. We must stop the plundering of our war-burdened people. Their hands are full; their backs are heavy-laden; they have no time to fight the highwaymen.

The sooner we bring the profiteers to time, the sooner will the victory be won and the fewer American lives will be lost. Neither the greedy profiteer nor the demagogic "patrioteer"; neither the slacker nor the dreamer, can be allowed to interfere with America throwing its entire resources of men, money and energy into bringing Germany to the point of "Unconditional Surrender."

IN SELF-PRESERVATION PROFITEERING MUST END.

*From an Address at a Patriotic Meeting at Kansas City,
Kan., September 1, 1918.*

Waving flags and cheering at patriotic meetings are all right as far as they go, but real patriotism means sacrifice and service in war time on the part of every one of us.

This is a war of endurance and to win it, we shall have to conserve to the utmost every resource. This supreme test of the nation reaches down to every one of us.

When we consider the patriotism of the mothers who are giving their boys, how shall we speak of the man who gives all his energy to making money, or of the man who seeks enormous gains thru controlling the necessities of life in war time?

From East to West we have reached the end of plundering. With war expenses of nearly 2 billion dollars a month to be met by only 100 millions of people, we must take the pay out of patriotism and the profit out of profiteering. We have come to the point where all profiteering must cease, simply as a matter of self-preservation in the interest of the 100 millions of people who now must strain every resource that they may shoulder the colossal burdens of the world-struggle. The greatest traitor now is the profiteer.

If soldiers are to give their lives and the people give of their savings, then we must say to the rich business man, you must give of your war profits. There can be no justification for a war that exacts of one man his service in the field and his blood upon the altar of patriotism, but which at the same time permits other men to stay at home and fill their pockets with money made out of the desperate needs that war creates.

In a war that demands the lives and money of the American people there can be no trifling with gougers, be they big or little. No mercy should be shown to the ravenous wolves, who are taking advantage of the stress of war times to coin the hardships of men, women and children into dirty dollars. The penitentiary is too good for them.

Yet we are going to win this conflict. The struggle will be desperate, but we shall win because we are right. This nation never starts anything it cannot finish.

MEN OF ALL FAITHS FIGHT; MUST BE NO BICKERING.

From an Address at a Meeting of the Republican Central Committee, of Shawnee County, at Topeka, Kan., September 21, 1918.

It is to be regretted when the nation is in arms and men of all creeds, conditions and political faiths are fighting side by side for the common cause, that our opponents in this campaign are seeking to influence votes for the Democratic ticket on a plea that Republicans elected to Congress will not support the President in his war program. This means, if it means anything, that Republicans are not as loyal as Democrats, and in his heart no one believes that, not even a Democrat. Besides, the record proves it untrue. I do not believe any thinking voter will be misled by such a statement. This is not a war of any political party. It is not a Republican war, nor a Democratic war. It is our country's war, and that is the way it is being fought. It calls for the supreme effort of every individual. In a time so fraught with anxiety, our energies must not be wasted in petty quarrels or in casting aspersions upon one another.

There must be no partisanship in our conduct of the war. There must be no bickering or strife at home. Let us rather, even as strong partisans and without in the least abandoning our political faith and principles, lay aside so far as our

war policy is concerned, all party differences, and work together to make certain that every available means shall be employed in winning the war. Let both of the great political organizations pull together, with only one rivalry between them—a contest to determine which can do the more to bring a speedy and decisive victory.

It is a high, but not undeserved tribute, to pay the American people to say that there has been very little captious, irritating criticism on the conduct of the war. When mistakes have been made, as they have been made; when blunders have been committed, as they have been committed; when incompetency, favoritism, partisanship and sectionalism have cropped out, as they have cropped out, the Republican party and the American people have shown a patience and a forbearance that are the greatest of all possible tributes to their loyalty and to their devotion to the great cause in which we are engaged. Every loyal citizen is hoping that every act of the President and those in charge of the war activities may serve in the highest degree to bring victory nearer.

The Republican party is not a nagging, fault-finding party in Congress or on the stump when the flag goes forth to battle and Old Glory is in peril.

The Republican or the Democrat, high or low, who in public or private life subordinates our cause to any other consideration, no matter what, or who fails in the full, devoted and efficient performance of his duty to the nation, is a traitor to his country and a false friend of the political party to which he belongs.

The Republican party, always loyal to the nation, has dedicated itself completely to a win-the-war-now policy.

I have pledged my own conscience to support every measure that will be of advantage to winning a complete victory. It is inconceivable to me that any Kansan elected to serve the people in the councils of the nation shall let politics interfere in any way with his paramount duty. I say country first! Win the war! Speed a peace with overwhelming

victory! I know I shall have no other purpose than to stand squarely with the President in every effort to push the war to a complete and speedy victory. And most certainly I shall do nothing so monstrous as to block or embarrass legislation of any kind for mere political effect or for any supposed party expediency; and in this I shall be doing nothing more than the Republicans in Congress have done consistently in standing by the President in the present emergency, when he and the country most needed their support. Indeed, it has been only by the aid of patriotic Republicans that the Administration has been able to put thru Congress many of the most vitally important war measures.

BE AMERICANS FIRST—PARTY MEN AFTERWARD.

From a Political Address at Richfield, Kan., Sept. 24, 1918.

I have come here as the candidate of the Republican party for United States Senator, and I am proud to be its standard-bearer in Kansas. I don't mean to say that all the virtue and all the wisdom and all the patriotism of the nation are monopolized by my party, but it has a record that any American can be proud of.

Ours is a party form of government. This means that every citizen must to some extent be a party man. It does not mean he must be a blind partisan, least of all an offensive partisan, and not at all what we call a peanut politician. Today in this great war there is just one America. It must be an America run by and for Americans, not by and for Democrats, or by and for Republicans. This year, while the best blood of America is running in France, we must be Americans first and party men afterward. I hold that any other kind of Republican or Democrat is not worthy of the name.

If I go to Washington I shall go there to back the President loyally and sincerely. Speaking for the people of

Kansas I shall say to him: "We are with you heart and soul to win this war, and this means our lives, our dollars—everything Kansas holds dear. From no other commonwealth in this Union will you receive more loyal, more unflinching, more effective support than from Kansas."

Patriotism is not confined to any one man or to any one party. No man and no party has a right to claim a monopoly of that virtue. I shall be the last to say that the candidates of the Democratic party have not the same high patriotic motives and as loyal hearts as we claim for ourselves. In Kansas, Democrats and Republicans alike respect and love the flag, and together are ready to die for it. In such a time as this every American, regardless of party, should be placed where he can serve his country best. Political parties are necessary, and the best thought of both parties is needed in Washington in this great crisis. But party efforts should be confined to patriotic rivalry in a program to see which can render the best service to the nation.

DISLOYALTY MUST BE STAMPED OUT.

*From an Address to State Guards at Pittsburg, Kan.,
October 6, 1918.*

Officers and Members of the State Guard:

Of the many activities in which Kansas has engaged since the outbreak of the great World War, none has more deeply stirred me nor appealed more strongly to my admiration than the fine way in which the men of Kansas have promptly responded to the call for the organization of companies of State Guards. If anything was needed to prove the loyalty and patriotism of Kansas men and their deep respect for government, for law and order, the organizing in a few months' time of nearly 200 companies with nearly 20,000 members was ample proof that the Kansas heart is in the right place.

The state was confronted by an emergency. The national government had taken over our National Guard in its entirety, and we were left without even the nucleus of a home military organization. There was no chance for special legislation authorizing the formation of State Guards, but under the provision of a section of the state constitution the governor is given authority in time of war to call into action such citizens as he deems necessary to protect the life and property of the people of the state. It was by this authority that I issued Executive Order No. 1, the first proclamation of the kind ever issued in Kansas, calling for the creation of a State Guard. The best men in every community have responded, and the result is an organization in which your governor, the adjutant general of the state, and the people as a whole, take unbounded pride. As your commander-in-chief, let me tell you I am proud of you, and I assure you that I stand ready to assist you and to give you every possible support.

It is a big thing that you are doing. It is a big thing whether you ever see a day's active service in the field or not. The mere fact that you have voluntarily enrolled yourselves as soldiers of the state, ready to defend with your lives the institutions of the state, and to see that the laws of the state are obeyed, is a stimulus to the patriotism and the loyalty of the whole people. The sight of you men meeting together of your own free will and accord, to engage in military drill, cannot fail to have a big effect in discouraging disloyalty, slackerism and traitorous pro-German proclivities. The enemies of Freedom, the disloyal followers of kaiserism, learn from you that Kansas is in earnest in her determination to make this state 100 per cent loyal. The State Guard is not a "tin soldier" organization. It is not a picnic society. It is not made up for show. It means hard work for every member of it. It means a sacrifice of time. It means self-denial. But it is a duty which must appeal to every patriotic man who is able to carry a rifle. Next to wearing the uniform of the United States army and going

to the front to fight the hordes of the kaiser, this is the best service that any man in Kansas who is compelled to stay at home can render to his state and to the nation; and I am proud to see that it has appealed so strongly to the best element in the state, and that the officers and men in it have shown their determination to make of the State Guard a real military organization.

I do not anticipate that you will be called upon in the immediate future for active military service. I do not believe that there is hidden disloyalty in the state of sufficient strength ever to make any organized trouble. I am not looking forward to riots, or disorder; but you, as the police force of the state, are a big factor in preventing the growth of sentiment which makes such disorder possible. You are the ounce of prevention which makes a cure unneeded.

I ask you to make an effort to suppress promptly any effort on the part of representatives of the I. W. W. or other agitators to interfere with the wheat harvest, and suggest that you co-operate with the mayor and sheriff of your county in handling this emergency. It is important that the properly constituted authorities be vigilant and prompt, as our people are in no mood to submit tamely to interference from imported trouble-makers.

REBUKE FAVORITISM WHEREVER FOUND.

*From an Address on War and Politics at Syracuse, Kan.,
September 25, 1918.*

As an American and as a Republican, I can, and do, respect and honor the ability and the high purpose of Woodrow Wilson, both as a man and as the Chief Executive of the nation. I rejoice that the American people and that Republicans—no matter how strong their partisanship, nor how bitter their antagonism to the fallacies of the Democratic party's theories of government, no matter how strong our Republicanism—will not resort in their campaign to the little, carping meanness of peanut politics. We have no mud to sling at the President of the United States; the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy; the man who holds the helm in a storm.

As a people we stand by the President, and by every public servant, as he develops and uses the strength of this nation, and I have denounced, and will denounce, any criticism of the President or any of his associates, when such criticism is inspired merely by partisanship or malice.

But wholesome, well-intended criticism is helpful. We should invite it. Such criticism is constructive, not destructive. We are not yet ready to say that constructive criticism, made with honest intent, is either disloyal or partisan. Indeed, we hold, on the contrary, that unfairness or injustice or inefficiency or favoritism, if they exist in the administration of public affairs, call for rebuke and criticism. It is the duty of the patriot to speak out clearly and freely and fearlessly; especially in such a time as this, when so much is at stake, and when selfishness should have so small a part in public affairs. The man in public life who refrains from criticism and rebuke of such errors or wrongs because of timidity in attacking evil-doing at such a time is, in my

opinion, far from a faithful public official or a patriotic citizen.

If I am sent to the United States Senate by the people of Kansas, I shall work for control of the government by the representatives of the whole people, and not by those of favored sections.

Profiteering in war supplies and in the necessities of life is treason. Packers, cold-storage plants, millers, implement manufacturers, coal barons, have exacted bigger profits and made more money in war time than they ever dreamed possible. I want to see the meat packers' combine throttled and the packing business placed under government control. We must put an end to these food pirates. The plunderers and gougers who are taking advantage of the war to rob the people must be kept within bounds, or put out of business. The time has come when these war hogs should not only be stripped of their unholy gains, but should be prosecuted criminally. When the price of wheat was fixed the price of wheat substitutes and all necessary food products should also have been fixed. When the prices of the things the farmers sell were fixed the price of farm machinery and many other things he is compelled to buy should also have been fixed.

KANSAS RESPONDS TO ALL WAR CALLS.

From a Public Address at Wichita, Kan., Introducing Colonel Theodore Roosevelt on the Occasion of His Visit in Connection with the Fourth Liberty Loan, October 2, 1918.

Kansas always has had a warm place in her heart for Theodore Roosevelt. As a soldier, as a governor, as President, Colonel Roosevelt stood high in the admiration and affection of Kansas citizens. Even when Kansas has not been able to agree with all that our distinguished visitor advocated, it never has doubted his high patriotism and his unflinching devotion to American ideals.

Kansas was slow in making up her mind that this was our war, but, thank God, Kansas did not hesitate, once the die was cast. In men and money, she has responded to every call. In every campaign, whether for the Red Cross, the Liberty loans, the Y. M. C. A., the Salvation Army, or whatever war cause, the response of Kansas has been 100 per cent or better in everything asked of her. Kansas has done her duty in stamping out I. W. W.-ism and every type of disloyalty and I am sure that even Colonel Roosevelt himself is no more determined on a fight to a finish, an uncompromising peace of victory, than are the people of Kansas. On this issue Kansas finds herself in entire accord with Colonel Roosevelt.

Let me urge my fellow Kansans to see that Kansas again goes over the top in the Fourth Liberty Loan drive. From the temper of the people, as I get it in daily contact with them, there is not a doubt in my mind that Kansas will subscribe her full quota and more to the Victory Loan.

LET'S FINISH THE JOB.

*From a Victory Loan Address at the Topeka Auditorium,
April 10, 1919.*

We are soon to start out on the fifth Liberty loan—the Victory loan as we are happy to call it this time. It is to be our offering of thanksgiving, but the need for it is as great as for any of the great loans that have come and gone before it. And whatever any other state or people may do, Kansas is going over the top once more.

I feel I am only speaking your thoughts when I say we shall do our part this time as a duty sacred to the memory of those 4,000 devoted Kansas boys who gave all there was to give and died wishing only to give more. Can we ever forget them? What can we deny them? This loan goes to help their dear ones. It goes to help the thousands of sick

and wounded. It is to bring about conditions that will give the stream of boys coming home their chance to begin life again where they left off when they pledged their lives for us. This time it is our turn—ours alone. Does anyone think for a minute that we shall fail these boys?

The government requires 6 billion dollars more to do these things and to finish up the war. A year ago today it was the common belief the war would be going on at this moment. Had our expectations been fulfilled we would now be looking forward to and dreading the great allied spring offensive—the bloodiest of them all. We would be praying fervently, as many of us had never prayed before, that we might win the war. We would be preparing for still another and another loan, in the full knowledge that by midsummer still another 5 billions would have to be raised. We would be expecting this year to raise not less than 15 billion dollars instead of the 6 billion dollars the government now is calling for.

The war has ended a full year sooner than most of us believed it could end. The fighting is over. The boys are coming back. Already some of our Kansas boys are again among us. Soon the greater number of them will once more be walking the home streets or country lanes in company with loved ones. And we have but 6 billions to pay for this great boon instead of having to pay 15 billions for more tragedy and heartache.

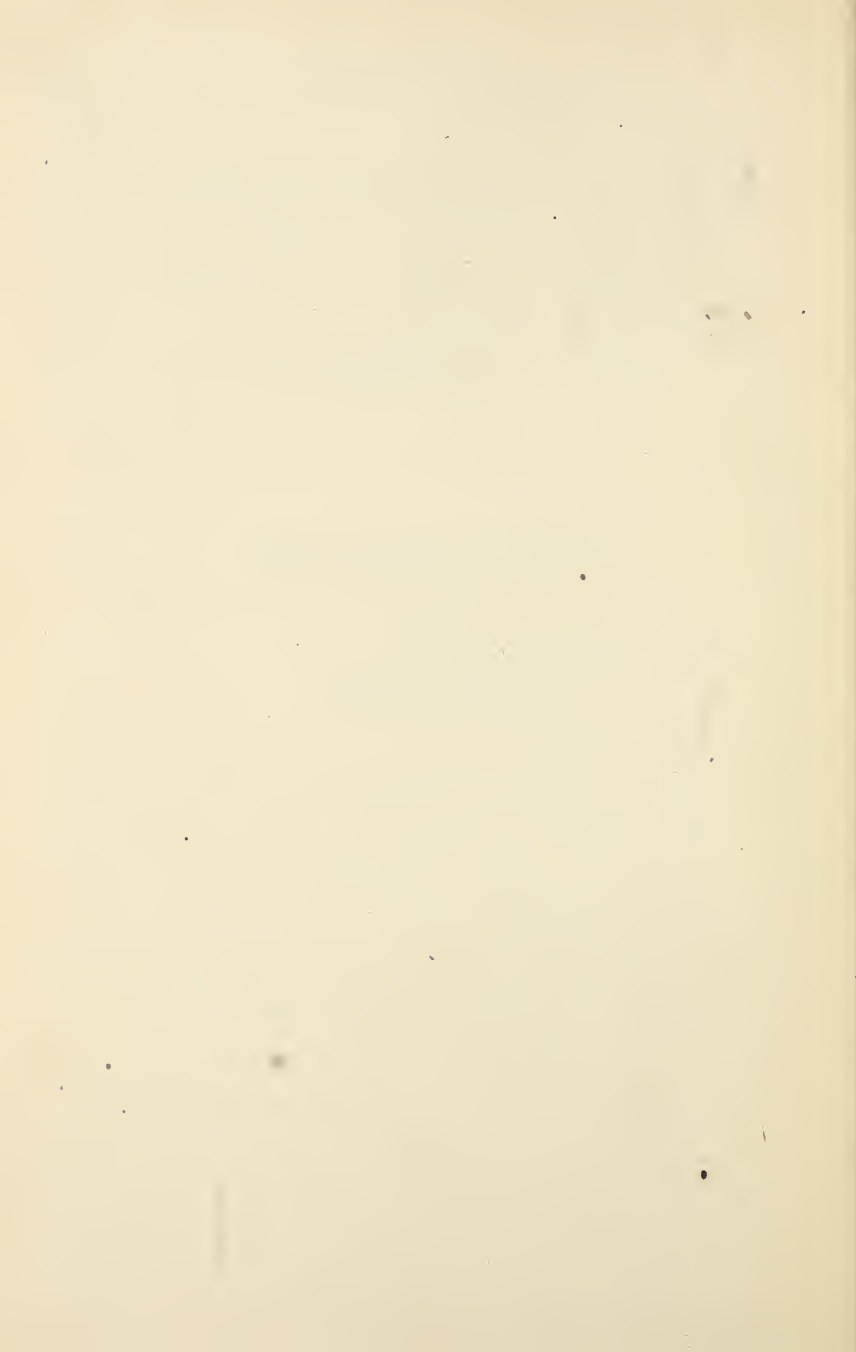
I am sure that most persons understand that while the fighting has ceased the expense cannot cease for weeks and months to come. Just as it required a mint of money to get our gallant, fighting army equipped and over there, it will require a vast amount to get it back. Until peace actually is signed, some of our men must remain in Europe. They must be maintained while there. Then they must be brought home. It is for these purposes that a part of this 6 billions is required.

Then there are the obligations of peace. We must see demobilization thru; we must pay every dollar of war in-

surance; we must maintain hospitals for our wounded; we must do all that possibly may be done to help our wounded men to help themselves. In short, having won the war, we must pay what remains of the cost of it, and we must provide and maintain the machinery for a lasting peace.

Our boys did not shirk, flinch or fail. They have won the war. It's up to us to bring them back, and to restore the country to peaceful conditions. Let's finish our job as faithfully and well as they did theirs.

PROCLAMATIONS
AND
LETTERS



OFFICIAL DENIALS FOOL NOBODY.

A Letter to Senator Chamberlain on Health Conditions at Camp Doniphan and Camp Funston, Feb. 2, 1918.

My dear Senator:—Permit me to thank you for the stand taken in your speech in the Senate on January 23. Conditions had become so serious as to alarm the entire nation and dishearten our Allies who were looking to us for speedy action; but smug complacency and dilatory inefficiency seemed to prevail in the departments at Washington.

I have been especially concerned by conditions in the cantonments in Kansas and Oklahoma—Camp Funston and Camp Doniphan—where Kansas troops are quartered. I made frequent protests concerning such conditions, but without avail. Energetic and capable officers have been in charge, but they seemed so entangled in departmental red tape that they are powerless to promptly cope with conditions or to remedy the evils.

At Doniphan 30,000 troops were dumped into a new camp, the most of them crowded into tents with insufficient protection from the zero weather and with a deplorable shortage of clothing. As a result pneumonia and other diseases rapidly developed and it was then discovered that little provision had been made for adequate hospital facilities. The sick men were crowded together in close quarters; for weeks there were few nurses; the food was poorly cooked and served cold; bed clothing was filthy and unchanged for weeks; there were no provisions for bathing, and altogether the situation was disheartening. It is a wonder the mortality in Camp Doniphan has not been higher.

I am glad to say that in the last week or ten days hospital and clothing conditions have improved, but I am thoroly convinced a radical change in the entire system is desirable.

The lack of proper clothing and supplies, especially in the below-zero weather which we have had has been a scandal.

The men at Camp Funston and Camp Doniphan have practically no field guns and only a few machine guns and modern rifles. They naturally are impatient and disturbed by this lack. They feel they are not having a fair chance. The shortage at Camp Funston and Camp Doniphan is pronounced, and official statements to the contrary don't fool anybody.

Sweeping denials that blunders have been made will not avail. The President has the confidence of the people, but, like you, I believe the truth has been kept from him. The people, however, know of their own knowledge what have been and what are the conditions of the camps and their confidence and support and enthusiasm—an absolute necessity in winning the war—can be maintained only by the utmost candor and frankness and a willingness to admit mistakes and to rectify them.

The people of the West have patriotically accepted the war, and realize that the winning of it is now their sole business. With them nothing else matters. And they have small patience with any system of red-taped bureaucracy that impedes our progress toward the victory which we must win.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

A PLEA FOR CLEAN CAMPS ABROAD.

A Letter to the President, June 1, 1918.

My dear Mr. President:—Permit me to bring to your attention the resolutions recently voted on and passed unanimously by the congregations of the churches at Beloit, Kan., and also by the Kansas Anti-Saloon League.

Resolved, That England and France be asked to provide as clean camps for our boys as we have here at home.

Resolved, That we protest against our grain being sent to England where a large part of it is being used in making liquor, and

where liquor is sold, and our boys tempted to commit excesses which wreck their lives and make them unfit for service. This, while American mothers and American homemakers are being asked to conserve food in every way. . . . Why not send the finished products to England as flour and meal, and not as grain, and in a great measure prevent these evils?

Probably there is not a church congregation in America that would not take instant and similar action on this resolution, if it were brought before it, nor a public meeting anywhere in America at which resolutions of similar purport would not carry unanimously, or nearly so.

The resolution voices a great wish and the anxiety in the heart of every American mother and every American woman, if not in the heart of every American father, for the welfare of these young men.

It seems to me we cannot refuse to consider so strong and so universal an appeal from American homes and the country's devoted womanhood.

Could not the 5-mile zone system for fencing out vice be extended to the camps of the expeditionary forces by consent of the Ally nations?

And, sooner or later, could not provision be made for shipping our cereals overseas as flour or finished products to forestall their misuse or waste by the brewer and the distiller?

I urge these suggestions as worthy of every painstaking effort which may be necessary to make them realities and put them into practice. I know of nothing else the government might do that would go so far to reconcile the women of America to the fortunes of war or that would cause them to face their sacrifices more cheerfully and with higher spirit, unless it might be war-time prohibition thruout the United States.

I learn there is great bitterness and widespread resentment in Canada over the freedom given to the drink evil and the commercialized vice evil in England to prey on Canadian youth, and over the deplorable results from it.

I do not doubt nor under-rate the moral soundness of our young men in France and England. But I think we should make allowances for the difference in environment and the more trying conditions. There they are strangers and in a strange land, three or four thousand miles from home, generally suffering from homesickness, and undoubtedly more easily drawn into the clutch of convivial vices. While it is true that the sale of spirituous liquors to our soldiers is totally prohibited in France and that the sale of beers and light wines in the military zone is confined to certain hours, I am assured these measures do not meet the requirements of the situation, and in England even they are lacking.

Faithfully yours,

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

PUT DOWN PROFITEERING.

*From a Letter to the Food and Fuel Administrators at
Washington, D. C., January 19, 1918.*

To Honorable Herbert Hoover,
United States Food Administrator,
Washington, D. C.

To Honorable Harry A. Garfield,
United States Fuel Administrator,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:—Believing you appreciate that a little dependable information from the grass roots outweighs a great deal of the other kind from any source, I am forwarding to you this extract from a letter I have just received from the pastor of the First M. E. Church at Kanorado, Kan., a most excellent man and pastor:

Mr. Hoover, Dr. Garfield, and the government have asked me to do many things to promote the conservation of food and fuel and to help the Red Cross and other funds. I have gladly and willingly done what they asked. The people have responded in a lib-

eral way. We must accomplish what we have set out to accomplish as a government. But there are some things which need to be righted, and by letting you know the conditions here, your appeal might do much.

We are a loyal and a patriotic people, but there is much dissatisfaction about such matters as these: We are asked to conserve flour—which we have done—and are urged to use cornmeal, rye, etc. But these substitutes are much more expensive than flour, altho flour is somewhat cheaper than it was.

Best wheat is selling for \$1.90 to \$1.95. Flour is \$2.90 for 48 pounds.

Corn is selling for \$1 to \$1.05 a bushel. Cornmeal costs 65 and 75 cents for 8½ pounds.

This makes cornmeal much more expensive than flour.

For the coal we bought at \$8 and \$8.50 a ton last winter, and even less than that during the summer, we now have to pay \$10.

These matters ought by all means to be remedied, for the people are complaining of this discrimination and will complain more and more if the wrong is not rectified. I am hoping your influence with those in authority will avail.

Such testimony in regard to the rankly unjust prices of many necessities, constitutes a large part of my daily mail. These letters are not complaints from disgruntled persons. In many instances they come from those who, like this pastor, see already the ill effect of profiteering on the American home.

This is a people's war and should be conducted as one. There should be no profits in it for anybody above the actual live-and-let-live basis. The people expect and are willing to suffer necessary hardships and, if I may judge of their temper by those we have in Kansas, they will meet these hardships with smiling fortitude while supporting the national government with all their might. This gives us only the more urgent incentive for putting the blood-sucking profiteer where he belongs, an example and a warning to all of his kind, before they drain the people of their strength and resources.

I am wishing more power to your arm, that you may soon bring to bear the full strength of the government against these traitors.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

FARM FOLKS' VIEWS ON PROFITEERING.

A Letter to the President, January 29, 1918.

Dear Mr. President:—No more representative group of farmers in the country can be found than those who gather at Topeka for the annual meeting of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture. The men and women who attended the recent meeting here, represented the highest type of our rural citizenship. Not only were these farm folks the progressive type—for only such attend these meetings—they were aggressive. The resolutions which were adopted, and which I have the honor to submit to you, are in line with the suggestions I am offering in this letter.

The farm folks of Kansas condemn those who have been “profiteering and speculating in the necessities of life with a view to making immense profits because of the nation’s needs.” They patriotically accepted the price placed upon wheat, but they are incensed, and justly so, because no consumer has been benefited by fixing the price. Kansas farmers believe that every effort should be made to curb profiteering. Kansas has given freely of its young manhood, has put forth heroic efforts in increased food production and, therefore, the men and women of this state feel justified in demanding that no undue advantage shall be taken of the situation. We must have prices fixed so that profiteering will cease. The good name of our nation demands such action.

For years Kansans have been aware of the conditions which prevail in the management of packing houses and stockyards. Kansas farmers and breeders of livestock have paid tribute to the packer without redress, and now that investigations prove that our suspicions and accusations of

illegitimate profits have been justified, we heartily endorse the action of the government in investigating the packers' methods and we hope this investigation will be so thoro and complete that not only Kansas farmers but the farmers of the nation will be assured of a square deal.

Kansas farm folks feel that a mistake has been made in appointing as heads of departments for food regulation men who have large financial interests in the industries regulated. They believe that those connected with these price-fixing bureaus and boards should be men who have no special interests in the matter. Granting that the men appointed are men of sterling quality and ability, under present conditions there should be no grounds for suspicion in handling food control matters. Surely competent men, men with nationwide reputations for honesty and ability who are not connected with the industries regulated, could be found to head these most important departments. Kansas folks believe that the men who have financial interests in the industries regulated should be removed and their places filled by men who have no financial interests in the industries regulated.

Kansas farm folks believe that every possible aid to increased food production should be rendered and that discrimination against pasture lands in the securing of loans from the Federal Land Banks is unfair and unjust. Land to be used for increased production of livestock is just as necessary as is that in cultivation. We trust that the restriction will be removed.

. The resolutions herewith express the unswerving loyalty of our people and carry a pledge for untiring effort in food production until the war is won. Our young manhood has responded with enthusiasm to the call to the colors, but we must not forget that the men and women and boys and girls who will toil in food production this year will also render valuable service to this nation and its allies, thereby rendering service equally great. “The farmer who devotes

his time and best effort to increasing the production of the staples of life at this time is rendering his country an indispensable service."

Very respectfully yours,

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

PROFITEERS WRECKING LIVESTOCK INDUSTRY.

*A Letter to the Government Food Administrator,
February 23, 1918.*

Honorable Herbert Hoover, Food Administrator,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:—The livestock industry is demoralized and apparently is disintegrating. Within a year production cost, represented by the price of feed, has doubled, while farm livestock products are selling at from 25 to 66 per cent higher than a year ago.

All feed products are selling here at nearly twice the price asked a year ago, and this includes tankage, rather poor corn for feeding purposes, and cottonseed meal. Our dairy products are bringing approximately only 25 per cent more than a year ago. Beef is about 50 per cent higher. And hogs about 66 per cent. One-hundred-dollar tankage and \$1.50 corn cannot be fed to \$15.50 hogs, or better. Our dairy herds are being operated at such a loss that they are constantly being broken up and sent to the block. Such a condition is a calamity any year, but especially this year.

Pardon me if I say that I think a mistake was made in not giving the Food Administration more power and in not taking care of the farmers and livestock raisers in the beginning as other industries were taken care of, so long as this was to be the government's policy toward the other great industries. Then, at least, we should have had some sort of economic parity between these industries and the farm industry, and not the ruin many good stockmen now are facing. It would have been well to have had producers

and consumers represented on all price-fixing commissions. While every industry in the manufacturing field is assured of its cost of production and a profit, the livestock men are unable to earn enough to pay for feed. There should have been, it seems to me, a general and representative council of grain producers and stockmen, just as there was of millers, of coal operators, of railroad men, steel men and others, and with that policy followed in the case of the other industries, the mistake was made in not having one for this industry, the most important one of all.

But having made that mistake, haven't the livestock men who now are victims of the conditions resulting from this omission, the right to expect the government to come to their rescue and throttle the outrageous profiteering in feedstuffs of which they and their country are being made the victims?

From no industry is so much expected and will so much be demanded during the coming year as from the agricultural industry, and none of our industries is so badly demoralized. While I am confident you realize this, you can hardly know at first hand as we do what havoc is being created by this situation.

Very respectfully,

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

STAND BY THE STOCK RAISER.

*From a Letter to the National Food Administrator,
March 9, 1918.*

My dear Mr. Hoover:—Doubtless the insistent demand for price regulating made by farmers and stockmen has become an old story to you.

Within the last few days it has been my privilege to talk with many representative farmers and stockmen of Kansas and its adjoining states. They are of one opinion, and that is at the present prices of corn and other feeds necessary in

pork production, the man who is feeding hogs faces actual loss. This also is true of the cattle feeder.

Representative farmers, members of the National Farmers' Association, in convention at Kansas City February 22 adopted this resolution:

The National Farmer's Association, after due consideration, declares the \$15.50 minimum, or controlling price on hogs at the Chicago market, is materially below the actual cost of production. This figure is already depressing production and is about to imperil the future supply so necessary for the successful prosecution of the war. Owing to the radical changes in corn cost occurring since the early days of November, when hog prices were decided, we, in the name of Justice, both to the farm and the war supply, insist that hog prices be at once readjusted.

Similar resolutions were adopted last week at Wichita by the Kansas State Livestock Association, an organization representative of the livestock interests of the state.

These resolutions undoubtedly express the sentiments of men who have not only given the situation careful consideration but also are engaged in actual farming and feeding operations. It seems to me, Mr. Hoover, that such action must be taken, and that this action should not be delayed. The farmers' interests must be safeguarded if only in behalf of our most vital national interests.

With a minimum price set on wheat, and a minimum price set on hogs, it may be necessary to set a minimum price on corn and cattle to safeguard the breeder and feeder of cattle and hogs. If this is done, the minimum in each case, in my estimation, should not only prevent the deplorable losses from which farmers and stockmen undoubtedly are suffering, but should make it possible for them, and well worth their while—for pecuniary as well as patriotic reasons—to do their very utmost to increase their output in every possible way.

I do not see how we dare do otherwise than make farming and stock raising unquestionably profitable this crucial year with everything depending on a food supply which under no possible circumstances can exceed our needs.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

VICIOUS PROFITEERING.

*A Letter to the Federal Food Administrator,
April 27, 1918.*

Dear Mr. Hoover:—I transmit to you herewith a letter from one of the local defense councils of this state. It is a fair sample of a swarm of similar letters I am receiving about the outrageous overcharging for flour substitutes.

You will notice in this letter that responsibility for the price fixed for substitutes is passed back by the retailer to the mill company, which is under control of your department. You do not need to have the injustice of these prices pointed out to you. The people are looking to you for relief from such extortion.

Never before in Kansas has cornmeal been sold for more than wheat flour, and the prices of the two cereals do not warrant the higher price for cornmeal now being charged the consumer. It is clearly a case of rank profiteering, made possible by the adoption of the flour substitutes. If further proof of this practice were needed it would be found in the advance of the price of potatoes in Kansas as soon as Potato Week was designated.

The consuming public, the victim of this profiteering, is not fooled, and resents being gouged by the profiteers while it is making sacrifices to aid in the successful prosecution of the war.

The people of Kansas expect the Food Administration to protect them from these injustices. They respectfully call on you to exercise such sharp control over the persons responsible for this piracy that it shall stop. In every call for men and money Kansas has done more than its part, and in the face of these manifest extortions is responding nobly to the government's call for more money. Which is all the

more reason why the government thru your department, and, if need be thru prosecutions initiated by the Department of Justice, should see that the people are given a square deal and not made the helpless victims of conscienceless profiteers.

Very respectfully,

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

A PROTEST AGAINST INEQUITABLE FREIGHT RATES.

A Letter to the Director General of Railroads, June 9, 1918.

My dear Mr. McAdoo:—The conclusion is being forced upon us that your recent order horizontally increasing freight rates 25 per cent will so disturb present rate relations as to paralyze business in Kansas and completely wipe out our jobbing centers.

As there now seems no other way to escape such a calamity, I strongly urge a delay in putting into effect the increased rates until some means may be taken to maintain the present rate relations between jobbing centers, and until our shippers and the utilities commission may be consulted in regard to them, and in regard to the burden the new rates will impose on business generally. Unless these inequalities between jobbing centers and markets can be adjusted, we are threatened with a paralysis of business. Missouri river jobbers will be enabled to ship staple eastern commodities to the territory that Kansas jobbing centers serve, at lower rates than these centers can. And Texas, Arizona, Colorado and New Mexico will be able to ship cattle to the Kansas City market at a rate not increased as much relatively as the rate charged the cattlemen of western Kansas. These are grave discriminations, and there should be a most thoro investigation and a hearing of the case on its merits before such extraordinary action is taken.

During the war, our people will go far to abide by any action of the government regardless of the consequences to themselves. The present issue implies no question of their loyalty, but is vital to the preservation of the state's commercial intercourse with itself and with its neighbors. Whatever action the government may take ultimately, our people will stand by it, but we do not believe it is the wish of the government to annihilate nor to disturb unnecessarily the means by which the trade intercourse of any region is maintained, nor to put too heavy a burden on general business, which has hazards of its own to meet at this time.

We do not question that rail rates should be advanced to some extent. Heretofore, to make certain that they should be advanced equitably, the practice has been to give shippers and the public a hearing as parties of interest. The railroad officials who have advised the promulgation of the present abnormal and unreasonable increase of rates have for a lifetime given their entire consideration to profits and to dividends. They can hardly be considered an impartial tribunal. Such a stupendous increase as 25 per cent suggests its ulterior object may be to establish a precedent for a continuance of high rates after the war, should the roads then revert to private ownership. I cannot believe we should put so sweeping an advance in effect without first investigating all merits of the situation, and I strongly urge the shippers and the public be given a hearing before further action is taken. Respectfully,

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

ONE LAW FOR EVERYBODY.

A Letter to the Federal Food Administrator, June 8, 1918.

My dear Mr. Hoover:—I am enclosing with this letter a statement I have just received from the Farmers' Union Co-operative Business Association of Sumner County, because in its plain-spoken way it says what the West thinks

about price-fixing on the one side, and extortionate profiteering on all other sides. Please do not mistake the tone of this statement. The government has no more steadfast and loyal supporters anywhere than the Kansas members of the Farmers' Union, and the men who have signed it:

We, the undersigned, compose a local body of the Farmers' Union Co-operative Business Association, who are responding to all conservation requests of our government. In return we demand and expect its protection.

Standing out conspicuously before us, is the price-fixing policy, which has aroused so much dissatisfaction among our wheat producers. We feel that the hand of authority has dealt unjustly with the farmer in this area, in that it sets a price on our chief commodity without due consideration of the extortionate prices of everything that it takes to produce it.

Now we want to be loyal to the ounce, we would divide our last bushel willingly, but we do object seriously to the enormous profiteering in the substitutes we are compelled to buy, this diminishing the purchasing power of our two-dollar wheat.

We stand unanimously for regulation in these abnormal times, but regulation that regulates, one law for all. The same authority in which is invested the power to place a maximum on our wheat, surely holds the power to regulate all other commodities in the same proportion.

What we need is something to stimulate and protect our wheat producers. We fear that if decisive action is not immediately taken on this economic problem now confronting the laboring class, to which the majority belong, the effect will be disastrous to the prosecution of war activities and cause our people national regret.

Everywhere production is the crying need, and equitable prices the demand of the hour, and to be unmindful of these is to be false to our citizens and to our soldiers.

(Signed)

FARMERS' UNION CO-OPERATIVE BUSINESS ASS'N.

These rugged, hard-working men are not to be blamed for resenting their situation as helpless victims of a greed which finds its most terrible indictment in New York. I am informed that 21 per cent of the children in New York schools are now under-nourished compared with 5 per cent before the war.

But profiteering is by no means confined to food; the evil is nation-wide. The people generally appreciate the danger, and feel the outrage of this situation as strongly as these men do, and the demand for "one law for all" is a characteristic expression of this feeling. They look to the government to finish what it has begun by putting a stop to this great evil thru regulating all vital commodities.

The President himself says, "There is such profiteering now and the information in regard to it is available and indisputable."

It is not an idle boast that these union farmers would divide their last bushel. Nearly every Kansas farmer has scraped his bins this spring and given up every pound of grain he had been reserving for seed, that the needs of our Allies might be met. They are doing their utmost to win the war. Under the most discouraging condition in 50 years, the farmers of Kansas have raised and are soon to harvest probably the third largest wheat crop in the history of the state.

I am passing this "brief" on to you, as I have others, not as a criticism of what you have or have not been able to do with your herculean task, but to send it where it will receive sincere and earnest consideration and will help you to bring about action correcting these abuses. Respectfully,

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

THE GOUGERS UNDOING WHAT KANSAS HAS DONE.

A Letter to the President, July 27, 1918.

My dear Mr. President:—Pomona Grange, with a membership of farmers from all the local granges of Johnson county, this state, has recently sent me a memorial to forward to you. I enclose a copy.

These farmers earnestly urge me to use every means with

the President and with Congress to abolish price discrimination against farmers, either by removing the fixed price on farm products or by fixing a fair price, on a par with the price of these products, on all forms of implements and all articles necessary in farming, such as coal and clothing, and to enforce this fixed price as rigidly as the prices fixed on farm products.

The memorial, you will notice, puts emphasis on the strong feeling among farmers that a great injury is being done to their industry by fixing the price upon wheat at a "low figure," when the law of supply and demand would justify a much higher price, if for no other reason than the greatly increased cost of seeding, harvesting, threshing, and marketing, and—by comparison—the enormously high prices farmers are compelled to pay for farm machinery, labor, feed and land, and everything a farmer needs for his farm or family.

To cite a few instances:

The farmers of the United States virtually are required to give 7 pounds of wheat to obtain 1 pound of crackers.

Because cotton and cotton mills are not under regulation, a farmer's wife must pay for the commonest kind of cotton goods a price three to six times above the normal.

"The prices set on our products," a wheat farmer writes me, "would be all right, if they would bring us enough to pay for our necessities. What we might make on wheat is now taken from us in advance."

The first man to be regulated by the government, as we know, was the farmer. Since then the profiteers of big and little business have undertaken to finish the job of regulating him.

The West consented patriotically to have the prices of its principal products regulated. But the West can continue to produce these products at the regulated price only in case the prices of the necessities at which its wage earners and producers are compelled to buy, also are regulated, and regulated as strictly as their products are regulated.

No one who knows them, and is where he can see what they are doing, can help but be convinced our people are deeply and earnestly patriotic. The average farmer is about 100 per cent patriotic, and works all the time at his job of patriotism, but unfortunately he is finding that patriotism, however loyally backed-up by industry and enthusiasm, will not pay his bills, and he must live if he is to continue to help his government win the war.

Much the same situation exists among the common laborers of the Middle West. At a recent meeting in this city of the Federated Labor Union this entire body went on record as unanimously pledging its loyalty to the government, declaring it would do its best to keep the wheels of industry moving, but also declaring that thru profiteering, extending even to rents, conditions had become intolerable, and it was impossible to feed and clothe their families at the present scale of wage.

These men have had one small increase of pay within the last three years—long ago far-outdistanced by the prices of living. They are the men hardest hit by the high prices. The profiteer may be hurting you and me, but he is slaying these men and their families by inches. I fear that unless we have somewhat speedily a price regulation of the necessities of life, or a living wage for these men, that an exodus of our common laborers to Eastern cities, where wages are higher, will result.

Your recent admonition to Congress in regard to profiteering and the danger of inflation thru unequal war taxation, has the strong approval of every Kansan. Our people will back you on this to the limit, and let me say, too, they will support every measure of yours for the winning of the war.

I am convinced our continued fitness in the Middle West depends on a speedy solution of the profiteering problem and the financing of the war, or on a solution of the prob-

lem of price regulation. A practical solution of either will strengthen us for the trials and demands of the war.

Our great wish is to do more instead of less.

Faithfully yours,

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

FARMERS FAIL TO GET PRICE GUARANTEED.

*From a Letter to the National Food Administrator,
August 3, 1918.*

Dear Mr. Hoover:—From numerous points about the state I am receiving urgent complaints from farmers relative to the price paid them for wheat by grain dealers and elevator companies. These complaints are so general that they force the conclusion that at many places the grain growers are not getting a fair deal; and that buyers are taking more than the legitimate profit. This letter is a sample of many:

The farmers of this vicinity think they are not getting a square deal and a good many of them have asked me to write you about it. Our wheat is all grading No. 1 and is certainly fine, but the elevators in our two towns will pay only \$2.04 to \$2.05 for it. The cost of shipping is around 9 cents a bushel, shrink and everything. This No. 1 wheat is selling on the Kansas City market at from \$2.25 to \$2.33 a bushel, so it looks as if they were taking excess profits off of the farmers. What can we do about it?

R. 1, Melvern, Kan.

A. L. ROBINSON.

It is asserted in many localities that local dealers are not paying and have not paid at any time since harvest the full guaranteed minimum. In the last few days the price has dropped from 5 to 10 cents, the buyers offering in explanation the claim that they are obliged to sell wheat in Kansas City at $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents under the guaranteed minimum.

The majority of our wheat growers are forced to sell their wheat at threshing time, and as a matter of course are greatly disturbed. Only the men who have good yields are making any money on this year's crop.

Is the Food Administration taking any steps to protect the grain raisers? Are there government buyers in Kansas City or in the wheat belt who will sustain the market and redeem the **government** pledge?

I believe it very urgently necessary that you immediately and thoroly investigate these complaints and remedy them. The President having declined to increase the price for next harvest, notwithstanding the greatly increased, and increasing cost of production, it is more than ever necessary that our wheat growers get absolutely what is coming to them at the present price, which is a low one. I am sure you will appreciate the desirability of doing everything possible to maintain the good will of the wheat growers at a time when they are preparing for the fall planting.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

CURB THE MEAT TRUST.

A Letter to the President, August 17, 1918.

My dear Mr. President:—The indictment of the Packers' Trust by the Federal Trade Commission is convincing and conclusive. Kansas, which has felt its strong grip for years, urges the importance of stringent measures to protect the country from this powerful and rapacious combination. It considers the five reforms suggested in the report of the Federal Trade Commission for bringing about fair markets for producers and fair prices for consumers important and necessary steps in the right direction, by no means too drastic nor far-reaching in the effort to cope with this bold, viciously predatory and short-sighted monopoly. It approves of your wisdom in making this report public.

In Kansas we have thousands of acres without a hoof on them, because for years, and with few exceptions, farmers made so little money, or have lost so much, in raising or feeding livestock for market, that the business has become

too hazardous for the average farmer to engage in it to the extent he should.

On the other hand, the history of our once well-to-do breeders of fine stock is a record of dispersed herds, or bankruptcy.

During all these years of disaster and ruin in our livestock industry, the people have had to pay higher and higher prices for meat, so high at one time within the last decade, as you know, that in the cities the people spontaneously came together and organized anti-meat eating clubs. This popular rising the packers were quick to head off by speedily, tho gradually, lowering prices, and continuing this policy for weeks afterward.

It is no secret in Kansas, nor in any agricultural state, that the Packers' Trust is compelling the American farmer to use up and impair the most vital source of our national welfare and prosperity, the fertility of the soil, instead of conserving it by a carefully balanced system of farming, including livestock as well as grain. We can have no permanent system of agriculture under present conditions.

While the nation's most vital interests have been suffering in this way at the hands of this greedy monopoly, the people of Kansas, and of every agricultural state, have noted with further misgivings and alarm the successful campaign of the big packing companies to dominate the export meat products of the three great South American countries; also the steady extension of this control to dairy, poultry and other food products, to tanneries and the leather supply, in the United States, including the gradual absorption of the canneries of Alaska and the Pacific Coast.

Kansas knows the Packers' Trust for what it has become, and what it will become unless its grip is broken—a menace to our national welfare and a threat to neighbor nations. Its people are convinced they cannot truly prosper unless the power of this combine is taken over or it is stringently

controlled by the government. They will support you unanimously and enthusiastically in any and every policy likely to accomplish so tremendously beneficial a result.

Faithfully yours,

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

A GUARANTY THAT FAILED TO GUARANTEE.

A Letter to the Federal Food Administrator, Oct. 19, 1918.

Dear Mr. Hoover:—Let me ask how a farmer can be insured against loss by a price guarantee of \$15.50 on a product which has cost him about \$20.80 to create?

Our swine raisers learn with something like amazement that the National Agricultural Advisory Committee in a report submitted to the Food Administration, recommends a minimum price for hogs of \$15.50 at Chicago be fixed for the war.

The September 1 report of the United States Department of Agriculture shows a corn crop for the entire country, 88 million bushels below the 10-year average. Demand is great and prices high. With corn costing about \$2 a bushel shipped to farmers in the Southwest, in the widespread region in which the crop was burned up this year, and costing nominally about \$1.60 a bushel in carlots f. o. b. Kansas City, the impossibility of fitting a hog for market at any such price as \$15.50 is beyond question.

Last fall, when the Food Administration called in competent authorities to fix a price for hogs sufficient to guarantee farmers against loss in raising them, the verdict of these experts was that when 100 pounds of live hogs did not buy 12 bushels of corn, swine production declined, and the price guarantee should be based on a ratio of 13 to 1, if the government wished to increase production.

With corn of medium quality at \$1.60 wholesale at point of shipment in the Southwest, a minimum of \$20.80 for

hogs would be none too much. And here comes this advisory committee and decides that \$15.50 at Chicago would be a fair price to the producer!

I have a letter from one of the leading stock raisers of Southern Kansas, which is only one of many of a similar nature received by me during the last week. He says:

The corn we are feeding our hogs has been shipped in from Kansas City, the nearest point where corn can be bought, and the cost is \$2 a bushel. Let us take the price of \$15.50 at Chicago for hogs that Professor Cotton has so magnanimously set. Who can grow and fatten hogs at that price on \$2 corn and high priced labor? He might just as well have made the guarantee \$10 or \$5.

As for helping the country or the Allies, the farmers as a class have done their part, and are still willing to. In fact, the money for the war has come out of the soil, the farmers have dug it up. But when we read of the unprecedented profits of the packers, we fail to see where the patriotism comes in in raising hogs for them to juggle with at an actual loss to ourselves. It seems too bad that, after price-fixing committees have seen that we are not profiteers, they never fail to kick us in the slats.

Arkansas City, Kan.

J. A. BOYLAN.

This appears to be the general attitude in regard to the recommendation of the advisory committee.

A farmer may be ever so eager to give his life, his labor, or his substance to his country, but if he cannot get as much for his products as they cost him, he must quit. The average farmer does not possess a large bank account. He does not even own his land. And no farmer in moderate circumstances can farm long if the balance is on the wrong side of the ledger.

Unfortunately for the world, the growing of food cannot simply be made a matter of patriotism. It has to be a question of dollars and cents. What is still worse, the fixing of an unfair or impossible low price on farm products, not only is an affront to the patriotic men engaged in this vital industry, but must unfailingly operate to defeat their efforts and go to make a shortage inevitable sooner or later.

I have tried to put the case plainly to you as the farmer sees it, that the Food Administration may not in any circumstances be deceived or illy advised in a matter so important.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

BAR THE DOOR AGAINST PROFIT WOLVES.

A Letter to the Federal Food Administrator, Oct. 5, 1918.

Dear Mr. Hoover:—It seems altogether plain that notwithstanding what has been done, or is being done to stabilize prices, the situation in regard to the necessities of living is continually growing more critical.

In July, in the height of the growing season, when it is customary for most prices to decline, we had this year within 30 days, the large, if not unprecedented average increase in prices of 3 per cent. If this could happen in July, what increases may we not look for in the autumn and winter months?

The outlook for the coming winter, it seems to me, is dreadfully ominous. We may even have food riots. Effective measures of control must speedily be found, if we are to have any sort of limit to profiteering.

England, apparently, is the only country at war that has been able approximately to control the human wolves who choose to make money by robbing a war-burdened people's stomachs. In this emergency it may be well for us to take a leaf from her experience.

Unless sternly restrictive measures are adopted, I fear we shall have this winter not simply rampant profiteering, but such an orgy of profit-taking, and such deprivation and suffering in American homes, as this generation never has known.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

BRING THE BOYS HOME.

A Telegram to the Secretary of War, November 30, 1918.

My dear Mr. Baker:—I wish to urge the early release from military duty of every American soldier not urgently needed abroad. Just now every agricultural state in the Union needs its farmers back on the land as urgently, if not more urgently, than these men once were needed in the trenches. So far no Kansas troops have been included in the divisions soon to be returned from the war zone. If we are to feed 200 million Europeans the coming year until stricken Europe can get on its feet, it makes food production in the United States as urgent as were munitions in the dark days of the war. It seems apparent that by meeting this food emergency abroad we shall not simply prevent widespread suffering and loss of life, but forestall anarchy and speed up the readjustment of Europe on which so largely depends good times instead of hard times here at home.

I cite these facts to urge that provision be made that the men and boys in the National Guard, in the National Army in Europe, and in the camps in this country, who came from farms, be at once returned and mustered out by their local draft boards. Kansas has 81,477 men in the service. In normal times 65,000 men from out of the state are required to supplement our own farm labor. Kansas has just finished sowing a world-record planting of wheat, more than 10 million acres, and skilled farm labor as early as February 1 next, will be imperatively needed.

I am also moved to appeal to your sense of justice of what is due to the women in American homes, and likewise to the welfare and future of the men now in Europe where camp routine and police duty have superseded active warfare. I am sure you yourself must be convinced that the

longer we keep these men away from home the harder it will be for them to get their old jobs back; and that the longer the nation's best workers are kept out of harness, and American families remain disrupted, the worse we shall fare at home. This hurt goes deep. Furthermore, there are perils of peace almost more terrible than war when great armies end a conflict demanding the utmost endurance from every man, and suddenly have no other activity left than the monotony of marking time at some camp, or of doing police duty. Therefore I voice the great hope of thousands of firesides all over the land, that the demobilizing of our overseas forces be conducted as rapidly as possible. At very least, let me urge that the War Department provide for taking from the ranks for immediate return, the men who now are so greatly needed on the farms, and who at best can now do little more overseas than perform the simplest military duty.

I do not doubt you have all these matters in mind, if not provided for. But I feel it important that you should know how vitally they affect us in the agricultural West.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

EMPTY THE MILITARY CAMPS.

A Letter to the Secretary of War, December 14, 1918.

My dear Mr. Baker:—By way of emphasizing the plea made in my former letter urging the early release from military duty abroad and from the camps in this country of every American soldier not urgently needed, especially the men from agricultural states, I am making a Kansas farmer's letter just received, a part of this letter. It expresses definitely what many others are writing to me daily and gives most valid reasons for the request it prefers. The writer says:

I notice you have made a strong appeal for the return of the troops from Europe, and I am with you on that, but I wish you

would make a still stronger appeal for the return to their homes of the soldiers in the cantonments in this country. It would gladden the hearts and relieve the minds of many fathers and mothers whose days and nights are spent in anxiety for fear of the death messages that come to so many of them these days from the camps. In this little community we have recently had three such messages, one from San Antonio, one from Lawrence, and one from Funston. All three were as fine young men as ever grew to manhood in Kansas.

Now the war is over, and the purpose for which they enrolled themselves has been fought out and won, why not let these boys come home? The shops and the farms need their help. I have a nephew at Kelley Field No. 2, San Antonio, who was farming for himself, and when he enlisted hired his brother to look after his interest on the farm, or as much of it as he could manage. I want to tell you, Governor, that boy is needed right here. Many thousand other boys have done as he did, and should be mustered out as soon as possible.

While the war was on I had no patience with the knocker or the slacker, as I believed it was the duty of every man and woman to get behind the government and fight to a finish. Now that has been done, we are anxious as well as eager to see the boys come marching home. So if you can do anything to speed up the homecoming of these boys, you will earn the gratitude, not only of the people of Kansas, but of other states.

R. 2, Republic, Kan.

P. T. STROM.

Away from the dust and crowding of the cantonments, there can be no question, I think, that these boys would be much safer from the more or less deadly winter diseases of the camps and the prevailing influenza. Illnesses would be much less likely amid their wholesome home surroundings, and if incurred would be detected and treated earlier with better chances of recovery under the cheerful influence of home and its loving care.

Furthermore, the West has never had such need of its young farmers. Active farming begins in the Southwest early in February. Spring planting depends absolutely on having these young farmers on the job as soon as they can possibly be mustered out. Useful, vitally important work is awaiting them here and is waiting for them.

Besides these reasons, urgent enough in themselves, the nation owes its fathers and mothers a debt of gratitude it never can repay, and I am sure you will agree that a prompt response to their wishes in this particular by those in authority is the least that can be asked of us at this time.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

LET THE SOLDIERS KEEP THEIR UNIFORMS.

From a Letter to the War Department, December 20, 1918.

These men are returning to civil life, after playing a most magnificent part in the greatest war in history. They have brought new and undying glory to our flag. Naturally a feeling of deep pride attaches to the uniform worn by them while in the service. Memories cling to their soldier clothes which nothing but death can erase. So that, as a matter of sentiment alone, I think they should keep their uniforms.

But there are other and possibly more practical reasons. There will be many reunions, celebrations and gatherings of a patriotic nature at which it will be entirely fitting and appropriate for soldiers of the world war to appear in uniform. Furthermore, I cannot believe that a uniform worn three months by a soldier and then turned back to the government, could again be made suitable for regular wear without the expenditure of more than its worth in repairs. Many of the men disposed of their civilian clothing when they entered the service. It will be necessary for them to wear their uniforms steadily for several weeks while earning money with which to purchase other wearing apparel. But if a soldier knew he was to retain his uniform, he would naturally be more zealous in its care. After a few weeks it would be worn only on special occasions and would serve its purpose for several years.

I think as a matter of plain justice, every soldier who is honorably discharged from the United States army should be permitted to keep one complete uniform, and I should

like to appeal to you strongly to see that steps are taken which will lead to the issuance of such orders. I am sure the people of the nation, who have been so generous in providing the money with which to purchase clothing and equipment for their soldiers, would approve such action.

With assurance of high personal esteem, I am,

Very respectfully,

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

CHILDREN'S PART IN THE WAR.

Junior Red Cross Proclamation.

Pursuant to the request of the advisory committee of the Junior Red Cross of the southwestern division, that the governors of the five states in this division recognize by proclamation the Junior Red Cross as the one official organization for war relief activities in our schools, I take pleasure in proclaiming for this organization full recognition in Kansas.

In this connection, let me urge thruout Kansas that school boards and superintendents consolidate all war activities in our schools with the Junior Red Cross work. Such activities include food conservation, the sale of thrift stamps and certificates, subscriptions to Liberty bonds, support of the Y. M. C. A. and whatever duties the pupils of our schools may be invited to undertake, unifying for the work of the war all our people and resources.

The story of the Red Cross should be told to the pupils of the schools, the history of the organization and the noble work it has done and is doing in behalf of humanity. There is no part of our people who naturally respond so enthusiastically to the humanitarian and idealistic objects of the Red Cross as our school children. Everywhere they desire

to link themselves with the nation's efforts to win the world war, and opportunity is here given them to do so with real effect.

Let our 300,000 school children be enlisted in the Junior Red Cross and so permit them to be a real and vital factor in the task the nation has taken up to preserve all that democracy cherishes, and to safeguard future generations.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the great seal of the state of Kansas.

Done at Topeka, the capitol, this seventh day of February, A. D., 1918.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

PROCLAMATION CONFERRING CITIZENSHIP UPON GENERAL LEONARD WOOD.

STATE OF KANSAS, GOVERNOR'S OFFICE.

Know all men by these presents.

Inasmuch as the life of a state, its strength and virtue and moral worth are directly dependent upon the character of the citizens who compose it, and

Inasmuch as it is a solemn obligation imposed upon the Governor of the state to promote and advance the interests and well being of the commonwealth in every way consistent with due regard for the rights and privileges of sister states, and

Whereas, the soldier, Leonard Wood, Major General in the United States Army and now commandant at Camp Funston, has shown by his daily life, by his devotion to duty, by his high ideals and by his love of country, that he is a high-minded man after our own hearts, foursquare to all the world, one good to know,

Now, therefore, I, Arthur Capper, Governor of the State of Kansas, do hereby declare the said Major General Leon-

ard Wood to be, in character and in ideals, a true Kansan, and by virtue of the esteem and affection the people of Kansas bear him, I do furthermore declare him to be to all intents and purposes a citizen of this state, and as such entitled to speak the Kansas language, to follow Kansas customs, and to be known as citizen-extraordinary.

In witness whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and caused to be affixed the Great Seal of the State of Kansas.

Done at Topeka, the state capital, the nineteenth day of December, A. D., 1917.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

THANKSGIVING DAY PROCLAMATION, 1918.

From the hearts of the American people there is rising unbidden, a mighty hymn of thanksgiving. We should be poor in thanks and poorer still in spirit, if America's annual day of Thanksgiving did not this year find us truly a happy and a grateful nation.

We have again been found fit to fulfill the high purposes of Americanism in the greatest crisis hour in world history. Our young men have faced death with smiling faces. They have made the supreme sacrifice, asking one question and only one, with their last breath—"Are we still advancing?" The name of America shines with brighter, holier luster before all the world because of the perfection and nobility of their manhood and the mercies of our bounty. The world has never seen finer fighting men. God grant we may seal their sacrifices with a league of peace.

Now, therefore, I, Arthur Capper, governor of the state of Kansas, in accordance with a gracious and honored custom, do hereby proclaim Thursday, November 28, as Thanksgiving day, and call upon our people, in their usual places

of worship, or wherever they may be, to offer up a prayer to Almighty God for the victory which has come to our cause and for the many blessings we have enjoyed as a people during this momentous year in our history.

Let us lift up our hearts in community singing with thanksgiving and praise, that violence and might cannot in this world overcome the moral forces that are the foundation of our national government and political faith.

Let us render thanks to the God of justice who overrules wicked rulers, and who has again made America His instrument in hurling back the forces of autocracy and oppression, greed and cruelty.

Let us observe our national day of thanksgiving not in the spirit of boasting and of vanity and pride, but of gratitude that we have been found fit to fulfill the purposes of Americanism in the world's crisis hour and that in this gathering up of our forces we have had a larger and a deeper vision of our unity and our invincible power when called forth by a cause worthy of America.

Let us give thanks to the Giver of all good that the example of America is being looked up to and followed in all parts of the world, and in this time of testing that Americanism and democracy are being extended as at no former time in history.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

RED CROSS ROLL CALL.

A Proclamation.

While representatives of the great nations lately in the deadly throes of actual war, are gathering around the peace table, it is given to the people of America to show that it was the high ideals of democracy and the love of humanity, which led them into war, and not emotionalism nor merely hatred of an arrogant and impudent foe.

As we fought for the sake of humanity we must show no

diminished zeal and fervor, now that the storm of passion has passed, in our tender ministrations to those who bore the burden of the battle, to their families and dependents, to the stricken people of Europe and to our own people who are undertaking the gigantic task of rebuilding a world. Suffering and sorrow do not cease with the declaration of peace. The aftermath of war carries its woes only less than those of war itself.

To alleviate these woes, to smooth the way of soldiers and sailors readjusting themselves to civil life, to help the civil population at home and abroad most quickly regain and establish normal conditions of life, is the function of the American Red Cross. Its high mission must appeal to every American, and its Christmas roll call must meet with enthusiastic response in every American home.

Therefore, I, Arthur Capper, do hereby proclaim the week of December 16 to 24, inclusive, as Red Cross Roll Call week in the state of Kansas, and earnestly call upon all the people of the state, men, women and children, to enroll as active members of this great association.

Carry on.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the great seal of the state of Kansas. Done at Topeka, the capitol, this 12th day of December, A. D., 1918.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

FATHER AND SON WEEK.

A Proclamation.

The President has designated the week of Lincoln's birthday as Father and Son Week all over our nation. The experience of European nations at war convinces us that this is a timely movement. With juvenile delinquency increased over 200 per cent in England and 500 per cent in Germany, and some alarming indications of delinquency increases in

our own country, it is necessary to consider the welfare of our boys. In our own state there has been an increase of 28 per cent in the court records of juvenile cases, and from many points over the state a larger increase in the number of cases handled by the officers about which no record was made.

We must give no less attention and not a cent less of money to our 2 million boys under arms, but we must give equal attention to our 8 million boys at home.

The National Father and Son Week will give opportunity for strengthening the home ties with the boys under arms and will emphasize to communities, churches and parents the duties of each to the boys.

This movement will be thoroughly promoted in this state by the State Sunday School association and the Y. M. C. A. organizations.

Therefore, I, Arthur Capper, governor of the state of Kansas, hereby set aside the week of February 11 to 17 as Father and Son Week, urging all communities, churches and parents to observe it, giving concentrated attention to the needs of our boys at home, and emphasizing to both father and son the duties of each to the other which their relationship sanctifies.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

UNITED WAR WORK PROCLAMATION.

To re-establish the cherished ideal of our government; to bring about freedom from oppression thruout the world; to defeat a foe that threatens the liberties of all peoples and ruthlessly destroys the lives of women and children and men, it is necessary that millions of the best young manhood of America must sacrifice their business, their pleasures, their very lives.

It is necessary that other men and women go overseas, separating themselves from their vocations and domestic

ties in order to carry the influences of the home, society and the church to the men in the fighting lines.

To supply the void in the lives of the men in our country's service the United States government has duly authorized seven organizations to look after the welfare of the men in the service. The organizations are: Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, National Catholic War Council, Jewish Welfare Board, War Camp Community Service, American Library Association, Salvation Army.

These several organizations have accepted and are discharging the trust in a manner that has commanded the admiration of the world and the everlasting gratitude of every man in the service and those left at home.

The giving of moral and financial support to this work is an especial privilege given to us at home, by which we are able to take directly a small part in the great conflict for humanity. It is a privilege everyone should enjoy and accept to the uttermost.

Therefore, I, Arthur Capper, Governor of Kansas, do hereby proclaim to the citizens of the state of Kansas, that during the week beginning November 10, every American should give of his strength and his means to the fullest extent to the United War Work, that these allied organizations may continue to carry on the work already allotted to them and extend it wherever needed. Our men in the service must experience no interruption of communication with home and no modification of this great morale-making work which has definitely entered into their lives and has brought to them happiness and courage.

I urge that no person neglect his duty to those fighting for him in our training camps and overseas during the coming week.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

United War Work Campaign, November 11, 1918.

FOURTH LIBERTY LOAN PROCLAMATION.

Kansas is asked to subscribe to the fourth Liberty loan 62 million dollars in round figures.

This appears a large undertaking, but I have no hesitation in predicting that as Kansas has never yet failed to exceed the share apportioned to it, whether in men or money, it will not be found wanting at this critical time.

Our real duty is to subscribe promptly. Let us not wait for a "drive." We do not have to be driven to sustain our country in its hour of trial. Let us volunteer and make our subscriptions to the maximum of our ability now.

We should be inspired by the solemn news from the French front, where at this hour thousands of our own Kansas troops are engaged in one of the mightiest battles of the war. They have not hesitated or held back. When the command came to go forward they responded by leaping to their duty. Let us respond in the same spirit to our duty to sustain them with our money and our credit.

Let us be mindful also that at this time, with taxes on wealth redoubled, the present loan of 6 billion dollars cannot be made up by men of wealth. This call is to every man and to every family and to every dollar. At this time no thought should be in any mind but the success of the fourth Liberty loan.

Now therefore, I Arthur Capper, governor of the state of Kansas, call upon every citizen to dedicate his utmost effort to the success of this new undertaking of our government to the end that it may stand as fresh proof of our faith in our cause and in the fine, young American boys who are so nobly upholding the principles of right and justice on the battle fields of Europe.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and caused to be affixed the Great Seal of the State of Kansas. Done at Topeka, the capitol, this 27th day of September, A. D., 1918.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

FOURTH OF JULY PROCLAMATION.

A year ago America had entered the Great War and July 4 was celebrated with deeper solemnity by our people than ever before. This year Independence Day finds more than a million soldiers in France and Italy, fighting in our name the most fateful battles of human freedom. Let us all therefore honor the day by meeting together, by patriotic songs and addresses, testifying our loyalty to these soldiers engaged in our defense and pledging anew our fidelity and devotion to the deathless principles upon which our free nation was founded.

Especially should we commend the patriotic movement expressed in the memorial to the President from foreign born citizens of the United States of all nationalities, announcing their intention to celebrate the Fourth of July by special observances to testify their love for this nation and its present great cause. This worthy purpose has been called to public attention by the President at the request of the National Defense Council, and I particularly call attention to it in Kansas, that there may be co-operation with our foreign born residents and in arrangements for observance of Independence Day in all places provision may be made for their special participation.

Everywhere let us honor the birth of our government, dedicated to human liberty, righteousness and justice, by universal observance of Independence Day this year, when the spirit of the America of 1776 has spread over all the earth and in all nations men are to receive the blessings of democracy and of freedom thru the final overthrow on the

battlefields of Europe of the hateful doctrine of the divine right of any man, family or dynasty to rule over a whole people. And at all these patriotic gatherings let the loyalty pledge be read for all worthy citizens to approve, standing with uncovered head.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my hand and caused to be affixed the Great Seal of the state. Done at Topeka, the capitol, this 28th day of June, A. D., 1918.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

WAR SAVINGS DAY.

A Proclamation.

Because of the pressing need of men, materials, fuel and transportation facilities for the successful prosecution of the war, the government has appealed to the people of the United States voluntarily to curtail their customary expenditures by denying themselves luxuries and unnecessary comforts, to the end that labor and materials may be released for war work. The civilian population who remain at home and follow the ordinary pursuits of life, must be willing to make sacrifices to support the brave men who have so willingly left their homes and offered their lives in the cause of Right and Freedom.

The President of the United States has designated June 28 as the day upon which we are to give a new token of our loyalty to the nation by pledging ourselves to the purchase of war savings stamps thruout this year.

Kansas is expected to pledge on that day purchases of stamps to the maturity value of 37 million dollars. Knowing the earnest zeal with which the people of this state have entered upon the task before them, I have every confidence that we will not fall behind our sister states, but will subscribe more than our quota. To bring the matter more

forcibly to public attention I, Arthur Capper, do hereby proclaim Friday, June 28, as War Savings Day for the state of Kansas, upon which day all persons shall give their pledges for war savings stamps at such times and places and in such manner as may be appointed by P. W. Goebel, war savings director, for this state, acting under the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury, and pursuant to the proclamation of the President of the United States.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the Great Seal of the State of Kansas. Done at Topeka, the capitol, this 18th day of June, A. D., 1918.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

WAR ANNIVERSARY DAY.

A Proclamation.

April 6th marks the first anniversary of America's entrance into the great struggle for world freedom. It is a day which will live always in the mind of every true American and should take its place among the days which are glorious in the history of this nation.

Already the President has designated the day as the beginning of the campaign for the sale of the third Liberty Bonds. Kansas and Kansans will respond to that call in a way that will reflect credit upon the state.

It is fitting and appropriate, and in keeping with the patriotism and love of freedom and justice which actuates our people in the great struggle they have entered, that we should give further evidence on that day of our loyalty to the government and of our determination to fight the war to a victorious end.

Therefore, I, Arthur Capper, governor of the state of Kansas, do hereby proclaim and designate Saturday, April 6, as a public holiday in Kansas and call upon the people of the state to observe the day in a manner in keeping with all

it means to this nation. I urge that all public buildings and places of business be closed during the day and that labor be laid aside wherever practicable. I further urge that there be the greatest possible display of the flag and that the people join in the public patriotic demonstrations appropriate to the occasion.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the Great Seal of the State of Kansas. Done at Topeka, the capitol, this 29th day of March, A. D., 1918.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

LIBERTY DAY.

A Proclamation.

In order that the people of Kansas may have the opportunity of co-operating to the fullest extent in promoting the success of the third Liberty Loan campaign,

And in accordance with the proclamation of the President of the United States, and the request of the Secretary of the Treasury,

I, Arthur Capper, Governor, do hereby designate Friday, April 26, 1918, as Liberty Day in the State of Kansas, and urgently request the loyal people of the state to suspend ordinary business on the afternoon of that day, and to devote their entire energies to promoting the success of the third Liberty Loan. It is desired by the President that the people of the state join in appropriate patriotic demonstrations calculated to stimulate subscriptions to Liberty Bonds. I need not remind the people of Kansas of the vital importance of this state subscribing more than its quota to the third loan. It is the duty of every individual in this serious crisis to do his utmost in the support of the government and the cause of humanity for which we fight. Let this day mark the high tide of our patriotic endeavor, showing the

nation and the world that our hearts, our souls, and our fortunes are consecrated to the cause of humanity.

I especially urge that the mayors of cities and other local governing authorities in the state make it a special point to co-operate in their several localities to celebrate Liberty Day.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the Great Seal of the State of Kansas. Done at Topeka, the capitol, this 23rd day of April, A. D., 1918.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

MEMORIAL DAY.

A Proclamation.

Whereas, custom, statute and the loving gratitude of a patriotic people have set aside the thirtieth day of May as a perpetual and sacred memorial to the brave souls of the '60s, who fought and died to "make men free,"

I, Arthur Capper, by virtue of the authority reposed in me as governor, do hereby proclaim Thursday, the Thirtieth day of May, Nineteen Hundred and Eighteen, as Memorial Day in the state of Kansas—a day to be observed this year with especial reverence. Let not the stress of present-day duties lead us to forget the debt we owe to those who preserved the nation's life, or to falter in acknowledging and in paying the honor due them.

The President of the United States has by proclamation designated the same day "a day of public humiliation, prayer and fasting." I urge and entreat the people of Kansas to lay aside so far as possible their usual vocations and to give the day to holy communion with the Great Spirit from whom our help cometh; to confess with contrite hearts and true humility our sins and shortcomings; to pray that as our cause is just and right, it may have the divine

blessing; and to beseech Almighty God that we Americans of 1918 may be given the grace and strength to acquit ourselves as did our fathers in that other struggle for human liberty.

Facing, in no spirit of vain-glory, the responsibilities now resting upon this nation, let us pray that we may ever realize that our cause will triumph only as we keep our hands clean and our hearts pure; and that we may be given the strength to withstand all temptations that will interfere with a just and permanent peace among the peoples of the earth.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and caused to be affixed the Great Seal of the State of Kansas. Done at Topeka this 23rd day of May, A. D., 1918.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

FLAG DAY PROCLAMATION—1918.

Let us not be vainglorious or boastful, but rather thoughtful of that new conflict which we have entered—a conflict that is mightier than any we have met—one that will try our vast resources—take from us our sons—and which only united effort and ceaseless endeavor will win. Let us who remain at home give expression to our love of freedom—our loyalty for our country—and our hearty indorsement of the allied cause by joining in a day of state-wide celebration of praise and song for our flag.

For to us our flag embodies all the hopes and aims of our highest ideals. On this day when the stars and stripes for the first time in the history of our country fly in foreign lands, side by side with the flags of our allies—when our Kansas boys are fighting shoulder to shoulder in the trenches with the boys of France and England—allied in a cause which we know is just—fighting against a foe, cruel, unscrupulous, soul cowardly and freedom destroying—

surely we can without thought of self and with humble thanks and honest praises, lay aside our work day tasks for a few hours and in public assemblies thruout our state dedicate anew ourselves to our flag and to those things for which it has always stood, and to pledge ourselves anew to fight on until all countries enjoy the freedom we have so long accepted as our right.

In accord with the arrangements that will be carried out in all states of the Union, I ask that the stars and stripes be displayed on every home and public building in Kansas on Friday, June 14, and that all public assemblies sing our national anthem—"The Star Spangled Banner"—with fervor, and renew our vow to stand behind our flag wherever it may lead us thruout the coming year.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and caused to be affixed the Great Seal of the state. Done at Topeka, the capitol, this eighth day of June, A. D., 1918.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

LIBERTY LOAN PROCLAMATION.

The Secretary of the Treasury has announced the campaign for the third Liberty loan will begin on the first anniversary of the declaration of war, April 6. We should make this a day of special observance thruout Kansas and give to its celebration a special significance and a practical value by inspiring every town, county, and village to over-subscribe its quota.

Let us think of the thousands of our finest young men out on the battle front, undergoing the hardships of the world's most terrible war, in a desperate struggle with a barbarous foe who knows no restraining law, who observes no civilized customs, who violates every pledge and breaks every humane code.

Shall we at home fail to do our part?

In this appeal to us, the nation does not ask us to sacrifice or give of our means, but only to lend it what funds we can, taking bonds of the United States in payment at the highest rate of interest paid in more than a generation.

To every patriotic call since the war began, the response of Kansas has exceeded what was asked or expected of the state. Now that the treasury needs our subscriptions to the third Liberty loan, let us maintain this fine record for the sake of our country and of our allies, and for our honor and in honor of our sons who are devoting their lives to fulfilling what Lincoln called "the last great measure of devotion."

I wish to direct special attention to a feature of this loan which will make it historic. A national honor flag is to be raised in the treasury department at Washington, there to remain permanently. On this flag will be recorded the result of the subscription campaign in every state. We want Kansas to have a place of honor on this permanent memorial. Besides the national honor flag the government will award honor flags to every town that sells more than its quota of Liberty bonds.

To the second Liberty loan there were in round numbers, 10 million subscribers. The third Liberty loan must have 15 million subscribers.

Kansas must and will respond to this call for a greater subscription and a greater number of subscribers.

To the second Liberty loan this state was asked to subscribe a minimum of \$27,840,000 up to a maximum of \$46,400,000. It subscribed \$30,104,500 and exceeded the minimum. This oversubscription was due to the remarkable record of seven counties which exceeded their maximum. Sixty-five counties, considerably more than a majority of all, failed to subscribe even their minimum. While the state as a whole went over the minimum of the call, there were counties that failed to subscribe more than 25 per cent,

others that gave no more than 15 per cent, and one or more that subscribed only 10 per cent of the minimum asked.

These facts are stated because they prove that by effective organization and effort Kansas can and will respond to this call with subscriptions far exceeding those of the second Liberty loan.

I appeal to every citizen of Kansas to meet this call of the nation generously and promptly. In these things at least, we who remain at home can perform the duty of good citizenship, tho we do not and perhaps cannot, offer our lives to our country in its day of need.

That our people may show once more their devotion to their country and their purpose to stand by and support the noble sons Kansas has sent to the battlefield, I hereby designate April 6, 1918, as Liberty Loan day in Kansas, and earnestly urge every Kansan to co-operate with his fellows to the fullest extent on that day, launching a campaign that will put Kansas far over the top in the third Liberty loan.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

A RED CROSS APPEAL.

At the request of the American Red Cross, I am glad to call to the special notice of every Kansas family the effort now being made by the Red Cross to collect all over the land, fruit pits, especially peach stones and nut shells of every kind, and appeal to all our good people in Kansas to co-operate with the Red Cross in this necessary war work.

Communicate with the nearest Red Cross chapter to your home and enlist in this work of saving all fruit and nut shells, which are vitally necessary to provide carbon in the manufacture of gas masks for our soldiers.

The protection of our boys from German gas is one of the most humane branches of war work. All must be happy to participate in it, no matter in how small a way. You can

do so by saving every fruit pit and every piece of nut shell in your home. Do not throw these out, but remember that by saving them you will be saving human lives in France, saving our boys from agony and permanent loss of sight, perhaps.

Do not look upon this as a small matter. The American Red Cross urges you to regard it as a vital matter. The Red Cross chapters will collect these articles from the homes and business places. Get into communication and co-operation with your local Red Cross, and if there is no chapter in your immediate neighborhood, telephone to the nearest city or town and arrange to help in this humane and important work.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

Topeka, Kan., October 1, 1918.

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER.

Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President,

The White House, Washington, D. C.

With unbounded confidence in your judgment and knowledge of the situation, permit me to say that your rejection of the latest German overtures for an armistice will meet with the hearty approval of not less than 99 per cent of the people of Kansas. They are practically unanimous in the belief that the end for which we fight cannot be attained by treating with the Hohenzollerns. An unconditional surrender on the part of the Central Powers is, in their opinion, the first step toward a permanent peace and a reconstruction of the governments of the world on a basis that will make democracy possible. Respectfully yours,

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

Topeka, Kan., October 7, 1918.

This message, representing the sentiment of the citizens of Kansas, was sent to President Wilson, Monday. It was

concurred in by members of the Supreme Court, state officers of Kansas, and visitors at the State House. Everyone declared that America could not treat with the Hohenzollerns and that America and her Allies are now prepared to deal a death blow to German militarism for all time.

NOTHING LESS—ABSOLUTE SURRENDER AND ABDICATION.

*Governor Capper's Telegram to the President in Regard to
Germany's Perfunctory and Hypocritical "Acceptance."*

Topeka Kansas, Sunday, October 13, 1918.

To the President, Washington, D. C.:

With unconditional surrender in our grasp thru the rout of the German army and the defection of Bulgaria, Austria and Turkey, the sentiment expressed in Kansas is that the abdication of the kaiser, or the complete surrender of the German army, is an indispensable preliminary to any negotiations for peace. With high faith in your judgment and fuller knowledge, Kansas considers the German reply too indefinite on vital points to be acceptable under your often declared resolve not to deal in the settlement of peace with the Hohenzollern military power. The mere statement in the kaiser's note that his chancellor speaks for the German people, as well as for the German government, is not here considered a sufficient guaranty that your terms have been complied with. With the government of Germany still under the Hohenzollern dynasty, and the unsundered German army under command of the kaiser and the Prussian military power, there is no basis for a satisfactory peace.

After turning the fruitful countries of Europe into a desert, and doing to death thousands of inoffensive old men and women and children, with a cruelty surpassing the Apache Indian, the German government, so far as the Ger-

man people know anything about it, mercifully "accepts" terms of peace proposed by the Allies. Should the kaiser's troops now retire to, or within, the German border, it will carry this deception still farther. It will appear their military masters were not so far wrong in their promises. That, if this is not a peace with victory, at least it is a "peace with honor" and the honors of war, for no foe has set foot in Germany.

Kansas feels the people of Germany must be made to know their militarists have been whipped, and that bringing this fact home to them should be one of the preliminary conditions of peace. Nothing can be done to Germany which in any measure can atone for the crimes committed in its name. But the German people must know that the plan of their militarists to become masters of the world has failed ignominiously. Every German regiment should be required to lay down its arms and surrender formally to an ally commander. Then, Kansas feels the allied armies should give the German people a vision of the meaning of a world in arms by marching thru to Berlin and camping on German soil while the peace terms are being concluded.

Very respectfully,

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

PERSHING DAY.

Upon the request of the national council of "The American Patriots" and in conjunction with the citizens of other states, the people of Kansas are requested to observe Saturday, October 19, as Pershing liberty loan day.

We can give no finer expression to the enthusiasm which every American must feel when he thinks of the magnificent part that Pershing and our American soldiers have played and are playing in the world conflict, than by making the day set apart in the General's honor, a red letter

and record breaking day in subscriptions to the fourth loan. In no other way can we so adequately show our appreciation of the valor of our men and the genius of their intrepid commander.

Let Kansas again show her unswerving faith and loyal devotion.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

Topeka, Kan., October 18, 1918.

CHRISTMAS GREETING TO KANSAS YANKS.

Published in Paris Edition of Chicago Tribune.

To Kansas Men Overseas:

On the greatest Christmas since the first Christmas brought peace on earth and good will toward men, the home folks and the home state, in thought and spirit, reach their hands across the sea to give you a hearty Christmas greeting, and even now are planning to celebrate your homecoming with feasting and joy. Kansas is as proud that you were privileged to play a large part in the greatest drama of history, as it is grateful that many of you were spared. It rejoices that Kansas men, fighting for a Kansas principle, have again thru the highest courage, devotion and sacrifice added luster to the traditions of a state which has always proved its sturdy Americanism, and have helped achieve a victory that will bless the world for all time. May the Lord love and keep you.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

IN APPRECIATION OF ELECTION TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

From the Topeka Daily Capital.

I should be less than human were I not greatly moved by Kansas' overwhelming vote of confidence November 5, when it voted I should represent it in the Senate of the United States by more than twice the majority the state had ever before given a candidate for Senator. I owe this to the voluntary support of loyal friends and good citizens everywhere. It is a most handsome testimonial of their approval and encouragement, and my earnest wish is that I shall not disappoint them.

But the election meant more than the personal endorsement of any candidate, it was a triumph for good politics. Kansas again most emphatically gave notice that it demands Service from its public servants, and that it will smash political scheming and trafficking wherever it shows its head.

I think it was a serious mistake on the part of the President to issue a partisan appeal, especially just before election, but I believe the Republicans in Congress will be broad enough to give him the strongest possible support in putting thru the war and the peace program, and in meeting the problems of readjustment and reconstruction. My duty is a public duty. I shall go to Washington as an American, not as a partisan.

No man can say in advance what he will do. I make no promises of accomplishment. I can only say what I wish to do and what I shall try to bring about. The demand of the hour is for team work in high places, for the people will do their share. The results will depend on the quality of the team work. The country is carrying a staggering burden. I shall do my best to stop the huge waste of its resources.

I shall try to end the prostituting of its public service by the spoilsmen. I shall seek in every way to promote genuine governmental efficiency. This has now become absolutely essential to our welfare and progress. It must be attained somehow. I shall strive for fair apportionment of the nation's great load of taxes. I shall try to put an end to the profiteering of the people by predatory monopolies. I shall work for federal control of natural resources, and I shall do my best to strike the shackles from the most vital industry of all, the business of farming. Furthermore, I shall lose no opportunity to make booze forever an outcast in the United States.

Sooner or later these things will be accomplished because they must be done. But no man can bring them about alone. I can only do my utmost to speed the day of their accomplishment. It is human to err. I shall make mistakes. But they will not be errors of the heart, nor of honesty of purpose. I shall do my best to do something that will help us all.

ARTHUR CAPPER.

November 16, 1918.

JEWISH-ARMENIAN RELIEF.

A Proclamation.

Among all the millions who have suffered at the hands of the oppressor in the Great War none have been more sorely tried than the Jews and the Armenians. They have been driven to starvation, have been denied sufficient clothing and have been ground between the upper and nether mill stone by friend and foe alike. These races have contributed in a most substantial way to the prosperity and advancement of all the nations of the earth. No races have been more patriotic, more liberty-loving. Jews have fought under the flag of every nation in the name of liberty and justice for mankind. In the present war thousands of Jews

have given their lives in the cause for which we fought, and those who remained at home have responded with fine patriotism and devotion in every call. Yet today nearly one-half of the race lacks food and shelter without fault of its own.

It seems to me most fitting that as Americans and Kansans we should hear the call from these stricken people and contribute of our means to a fund which will be devoted to their succor.

Knowing the warm appreciation of justice which abides in the hearts of our people and the fine generosity with which they respond to every call from their less fortunate fellows, I, Arthur Capper, Governor of the State of Kansas, therefore, designate the period beginning January 12 and ending January 18 as Jewish-Armenian relief days in this state.

I call upon the people of all our cities, towns and rural communities to organize their forces and get behind this campaign with true Kansas spirit. No state has been more blessed with abundant crops than ours, and I am sure our people will be glad to give of their bountiful store for the relief of the people in the war ravaged countries, who are without food, without homes and even without opportunity in their present condition. I urge the newspapers of the state to give widest possible publicity to the campaign and appeal to the mayors and municipal officials to lend their whole-hearted support in making the undertaking a success. The Jewish campaign was postponed in December because of adverse circumstances. I hope the people will respond liberally to the appeal in January.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and caused to be affixed the Great Seal of the State. Done at Topeka, the capitol, this 18th day of December, A. D., 1918.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

KANSAS' MATERIAL PROGRESS.

From an Address at the Ceremonies Attending the Cancellation of the Last State Bond, Topeka, January 1, 1916.

This ceremony of committing to the flames these scraps of paper representing an indebtedness of \$159,000 marks the freedom of this state from outstanding bonds for the first time in the nearly 55 years of its existence. Kansas thus becomes one of the six states in the Union which have no bonded indebtedness. It is a good way in which to begin our fifty-sixth year. I can think of no better way of celebrating this day. It means that our debts are all paid and that we are living within our income. And that is as wise as it is unusual in this era of mad extravagance.

This event forcibly impresses upon us the substantial prosperity of our state. We are a fortunate commonwealth. Our per capita wealth of \$1,630, is greater than that of any other state and twice as high as that of the United States as a whole. It gives us a total of nearly 3 billion dollars—\$2,884,624,600 to be exact—of taxable wealth, an increase of 79 million dollars the past year—and enables us to maintain a state tax rate of \$1.25 on a thousand—lower than that of any other state with one exception. It is interesting to note that of the taxable property of Kansas, a little more than 15 per cent (\$436,721,785), is owned by the various public utility companies. The 9,248 miles of railways in the state, with their equipment are assessed at \$386,422,000; the property of the gas and pipe line companies at 20 million dollars and street and interurban railways at \$13,313,000. A total of more than 100 million dollars' worth of property owned by churches, lodges and public institutions is entirely exempt from taxation.

The state itself owns property in its various public institutions valued at 21½ million dollars—more than double

the value of the state's property when these bonds were issued 12 years ago. No doubt we have not expended all the money for public institutions that many of us would like to see expended; but doubling our state property and the expenses of its administration in a decade can hardly be called a niggardly policy. Nearly 2 million dollars was distributed during the year thru our hospitals, asylums, orphanages and other public and private charities.

Kansas municipal bonds are as salable and at as low rate of interest, as any municipal bonds in the nation. At least half of the municipal securities issued by Kansas cities and towns are owned in Kansas; 10 million dollars' worth of such bonds being held as an investment by the state school fund. If any of our Eastern friends in Wall Street or elsewhere own Kansas municipal bonds and want to get rid of them, I guarantee them a premium at any time. The brewery interests proclaim to the world that Kansas is on the high road to financial ruin, but at the same time they invest their surplus in Kansas municipal bonds. They buy them because they know sober Kansas pays its debts, and its bonds are worth more than 100 cents on the dollar.

The prosperity of Kansas is shown in many ways. Our bank deposits of \$224,110,576 are the largest per capita of any state—an increase of 23 million dollars in the year 1915; our 74,162 automobiles—that's what it was Thursday and they've increased since—and will increase still more rapidly as we improve our roads—as we will—gives one car to every sixth family—a record equaled by only two other states; our 589 telephone companies with their 831 exchanges and 340,000 telephones, gives a 'phone to every family of five—the largest percentage of any state; our farm products in 1915 of \$341,561,000 and our livestock valued at \$310,655,000; our \$325,000,000 of manufacturing products in 1915—all give us reason for congratulation.

OUR AFTER THE WAR PROGRAM.

From an Address at Assaria, Kan., November 28, 1918.

Here at home the first two years after peace are likely to test us almost as severely as the war itself. They will try our souls if we do not plan immediately for the time when those 2 or 3 million men come sailing home.

Imagine a column of men, four in a row, marching by your house all day, day after day, for more than three months. That will give you some idea of the size of our army in France.

When the peace treaty is signed, the government will be faced with the problems of returning and disbanding the men. Next it must find them employment. We have 3,764,677 men under arms. The task of demobilizing this vast army and of returning the men to industrial, commercial and professional life will be as serious and more difficult than getting them together. It is beset with graver economic and political dangers. We can all see that getting these men ready to do one thing is much simpler than finding 3 million jobs for 3 million men. The best brains of the nation will be needed for this great task. We must begin at once a big constructive program covering after-war needs.

First of all, we must take care of the returning soldiers, so that they may not be compelled to suffer for the time they have spent, nor the loss or injury they have received in patriotic service. It must never be said that any defender of the flag came back to find himself handicapped by the service he rendered his country.

Cannot Simply Disband Army.

It will not be possible to demobilize the American national army in a day. It would be terribly wrong to the men and decidedly unsafe to have the returning regiments

brought back to the national cantonments and simply disbanded. We must make plans for utilizing the services of these brave men. Many of them, by reason of their army experience, will be worth more to the nation. All will have their ideals somewhat changed. Many, after months in the open air, will resolve never again to work indoors. It is our duty to provide that not a single one of these splendid men shall become a wanderer, or a derelict, because there is nothing for him to do. The same draft boards which conscripted them can now render as invaluable a service by reversing the process and returning them to their employments. Every board has a record of each soldier and the job he left when he joined the army. Their duties now should be to bring these men and their former employers together once more so far as it is possible. The boards should now become employment agencies.

Bring the Boys Home.

Now the war is over we want our boys here at home. There is no good reason why they should remain in Europe several years after the peace treaty is signed, with Germany disarmed and under the watchful eye of its neighbors. It is better for the boys and better for us that they come back and are returned to their work as promptly as this can be brought about. Europe now can safely be left, if it had not better be left, to put its house in order. It knows what it wants and how it wants it better than we do. Meanwhile America will render invaluable aid to this reconstruction by standing by these peoples with its food supply. Let's get the boys home as speedily as they can be demobilized and re-absorbed into civilian life.

At the close of the Civil War when the armies of the North were disbanded, there was widespread concern lest political and economic disturbances would follow. It happened that the nation of 50 years ago absorbed the soldiers quickly and without much difficulty. In large measure this absorption was made possible by the Homestead Act

and by other legislation which opened vast tracts of public lands to settlers on easy terms. The result was the rapid development of a dozen new states that since have become the nation's greatest source of strength and means of progress. Kansas was greatly helped. Thousands of men of this state who worked out our salvation during the "hard years" in Kansas before the state found itself agriculturally, were the hardy fighters who had crushed slavery. They were men who had learned to stand stalwartly at Gettysburg, or who had gone forward with Grant at Richmond.

Need Constructive Program.

Some of these men for a time, at least, will remain under arms. How many and for how long a time will depend upon the sort of peace that follows the Great War. We can hardly hope for the millennium; but I am sure it is the firm determination of all America and, indeed, of the civilized world, that no ruler, no nation, must ever again be permitted to make war upon an unarmed, defenseless world. Civilization must never again be put in peril by a world war. We must have a league of free nations pledged to use their combined economic and military forces against any disturber of the world's peace, or we shall have fought this war in vain.

Experience demonstrates that nothing contributes more to the stability and well-being of the people than widely distributed land ownership and land occupancy. This makes it plain that one of the first steps to provide for the home-coming of our millions of young men in Europe must be a big constructive program for more farms. It is said there still are something like 400 million acres of unused farm lands left in the United States. Here then, is the one great opportunity for the returning American soldiers to find homes and become self-supporting, while at the same time adding to the wealth of the nation.

Moreover, it is highly important that something be done without delay to alter and improve the relation of the popu-

lation of the land. By the time the war ends more than a million men will have been drawn from the farms. An equal number should be returned to agriculture—not as temporary farm hands, but on a permanent basis. The heretofore steady drift to the cities is unhealthy for all concerned, and it is not merely an American phenomenon: it is manifesting itself in nearly every part of the world. We know the causes and must remedy them. This problem of land and of country life is hitched up with the problem of dispersing our great army. We can't pass it up. We've got to meet it.

Means Great Leap Forward.

In some sections irrigation promises much. In other parts of the country the land must be drained. In still other divisions stumpage must be removed by wholesale. The character of the soils, what they are best fitted for, the kind of citizens that will do best on these different lands, must be considered and provided for first of all. The financing of all these projects will be no small undertaking. Breaking up this amount of land—equal to a dozen good-sized states—is one of the biggest contracts any government ever has taken up under such pressing urgency of time and need.

National resources must now be developed to the fullest extent. The men at the helm in Washington must see clearly. They must take in fully the whole situation. They must act broadly and with decision in no stinted manner. There must be no party favoritism, no plums to certain individuals. In this politics and party support must be forgotten.

We are about to take a great leap forward and must gather ourselves for it. We must all unite to win the right conditions in peace time just as we have united to win the war, then this great national readjustment will be accomplished without hardship and the nation will not feel the strain which otherwise will be heavy, possibly to the breaking point.

At the same time, we cannot longer overlook the practical questions now affecting the whole farming industry and urgently awaiting a satisfactory answer.

Motor-ize Country Roads.

Right along with honest markets, with the whole square-deal program, the eliminating of every unnecessary middleman, the shutting out of every profiteer and parasite preying on the farming industry, and the fostering of farmers' co-operative enterprises—the war has shown us that we must immediately cheapen and simplify the farm's access to market by means of good public roads. Cheap and quick motor transportation of products from and to the farm is coming. It is to be our next big development. It is already here in localities having good, all-year-round roads. It only needs right conditions to spring up anywhere. The war made this need manifest. It has taught us we must not depend so much on the railroads for short hauls. Also, it has taught us how to do big things in a big way. And now thru our necessity for finding employment for the millions of men when they come home, it is providing the way for us to kill the proverbial two birds with one stone. It offers the way for employing thousands of our men who have seen, and have repaired and have rebuilt many of the magnificent roads of France, in building good roads thruout our big agricultural states. Good roads have long been needed. Lack of labor and lack of strong state and national support have held them back. After the war there need be no further delay, for we shall have the labor—much of it skilled in rapid road construction at the front. Our men have seen the thousands of miles of good highways in the agricultural sections of France, Belgium, and Germany. So a great road-building program must be put up near the head of the list.

Prevent After-War Depression.

Closely connected with the opening up of new land and the building of roads, is the too long delayed action against

large land holdings. No longer must large tracts be held idle for speculative purposes. The owners of these millions of acres of idle lands must be forced to use them or to turn them over to someone who will. Drastic laws will be needed, but they must be wisely made and intelligently executed.

Vast land grants still held by the railroads can be opened to settlement. Monopolies and combinations must be prevented from profiteering our natural resources. Oil land-holdings should be better regulated. A systematic plan for bringing oil properties into production consistent with public demand might be established. The natural resources of the country must be more thoroly developed under a scheme that will turn all profits above legitimate earnings back to the people.

The general idea underlying the whole movement, must be to guard against having great numbers of unemployed men. This can only be done by providing for government undertakings in industrial and agricultural development. In this way we shall avoid widespread depression, hard times, and worse.

Don't Invalid the Maimed.

Liberal pensions to wounded and crippled men, in addition to the insurance plan, will help preserve a healthy financial condition, aside from the fact that these pensions have been earned; and we, on whom the taxes for the support of such men will fall, should feel glad to pay in this way the debt we owe. Provision for the care of those who have given us so much must come first. The men not totally disabled must be helped to find suitable employment in order that the only door to happiness in life shall not be shut against them, for we have come to know that health of mind and body depend more than all else on steady occupation. All we can do for the men who lay down their lives in this struggle is to give them a place of honor in our roll of fame; but we can, and must, and will give the survivors a fair chance when they again enter civil life. It must never

be said that any defender of the flag came back to find himself handicapped by the service he rendered his country.

Make Immigration Selective.

The war has brought clearly to view that our national unity is endangered, not only by illiteracy, but by diversity of language which results in lack of complete understanding and co-operation. No country can have a homogeneous or a safe basis for its public opinion and its institutions, unless these rest upon the foundation of a single language. To protect national unity and security, no American community should hereafter be permitted to substitute any other language for good United States as the basis of common school education, whether for conscious propaganda or otherwise.

It is, therefore, very clear that we are interested as never before in solving the problem of immigration for the permanent well-being of America. We have sometimes prided ourselves on the picture which America has offered of the Melting Pot of the world. But we must now see that the ingredients in this great melting pot are themselves clean and pure, since the quality of American citizenship and the future of our nation depend upon what we do with the vast number of immigrants that more and more in the last two or three decades have come from the oppressed and backward peoples of Southern and Eastern Europe.

All Must Learn English.

No time should be lost in making adequate provision for teaching our language to those adult immigrants who are beyond the reach of the elementary school, and yet have cast their lot with the people of the United States. A knowledge of our language, and evidence of some real understanding of the history and meaning of our institutions, should be required before the privilege of suffrage is conferred upon one who has grown up in another civilization than ours and under another flag and comes to live under the Stars and Stripes. Public safety is the supreme

law. Public safety requires that the safeguarding and the improvement of our institutions shall not be committed to those who have had no opportunity to gain knowledge of them or to gain sympathy with them.

The War's Great Lesson.

The quickened public intelligence and enlightened public conscience promoted by the war have given the world a fuller appreciation of man's obligations to his fellow man—by all of us to all of us—the common weal. This happy understanding must be held. We must change our mental attitude toward the man of wealth if he uses his money and his greater opportunity to promote the good of society. Then we have the right use of wealth. The rewards of industry must be more fairly distributed. A day's work honestly and faithfully performed, tho done with a pick and shovel, should earn the worker good food, decent clothing, a comfortable home, and an education for his children. The day is coming, if it is not already here, when this will be considered the absolute right of every man and woman.

Beware of Bolshevism.

The present epidemic of Bolshevism in Europe carries a warning for us. Altho in America it does not seem a danger, we cannot afford to see this disease spread westward thru Europe to us. Bolshevism is the outgrowth of despair, the politics of hysteria. It signifies the morale of a nation has broken down. This political disease is certain to appear whenever conditions become so unbearable the people lose heart and run amuck in a blind effort to bring about a change in their condition or redress their wrongs. Bolshevik government is mob rule. It is government without steering wheel, or rudder. As a state of mind it is contagious, and it is not impossible for America to contract the disease. The best preventive is to remove contributive causes.

The nations never have had such a lesson as this war has given them of the importance of wholesome living condi-

tions for all the people. Army medical examiners in Europe have found millions of physically unfit men. And we know that thousands were turned back by our examiners. It is known that England's neglect of the welfare of its people cost it not less than 1 million fighting men. As Lloyd George expresses it, "You cannot have an A-1 nation with Class 3 men."

Results of Booze and Poverty.

We now see, as we never have seen before, that the health and fitness of the people—and not the piling up of wealth and annexing of territory—are the real secret of a nation's power. Wholesome living conditions, not luxury, nor poverty, promote national efficiency. And it must begin at the cradle, if not before. The children now growing up who are to fill the gap due to the war in the generation to come, must first of all be properly nourished. Next, they must have wholesome environment, cheerful home life. It is bad environment and squalid living conditions that make criminals and degenerates. And this sums up the first, last and all the reasons for kicking booze out of this country and never letting this damnable curse come back.

But booze is not by any means the only great enemy of national health and well-being. There is greedy profiteering in the necessities of living. And there is hard work at low wages. Either of these evils results or tends toward half-fed and poorly clad bodies; in shacks instead of homes; in child labor instead of schools; in all work and no play; in no joy in life, no happiness—finally in breakdown.

Greed Starving Out Homes.

These enemies of the nation we always have with us. We have them in peace as well as in war time. Destructive, short-sighted, sordid, conscienceless greed for big profits and high dividends has led to an organized exploiting of the people of this country for a generation or more, and has done much to undermine the physical, mental and even moral health of the nation, for the undernourished man is

the easiest prey of the saloon, and undernourished mothers and undernourished babes die by thousands or eke out a miserable and diseased existence. Price-making in necessities like wheat, meat and fuel, must never again be left to the gamblers of the exchanges or to corporate greed.

The war profiteer has this and much more to answer for in return for his bloodstained dollars. Even with the high wages now paid in the big industrial centers, the increased pay in many instances has been found by the Federal Department of Labor insufficient to maintain families in reasonable comfort. We must insure to every man and woman a comfortable home, a good return for their labor, and broader opportunities. And the birthright of every child born in these United States must be health; and this health must be guaranteed by the best physical and mental development.

Stop Exploiting the People.

The war has given us the means of enforcing economic justice in behalf of the people, and we must use it on the excess profit-takers. From now on there must be no compromise with greed in our effort to attain the square deal which every citizen of these United States should have as his right. We must see the aggregation of enormous wealth in the hands of the few—what Ex-President Roosevelt described as “swollen fortunes,”—made impossible. We must see an end to the monopolistic control of lands, mines, forests, water-power and other natural resources, which ought to belong to all. It will never again be possible to record, as was done last year, that there are 296 men in America whose annual incomes are more than a million dollars each.

We have two main methods of bringing about this condition of justice, fair play and equality of opportunity. These are taxation and the rigid rooting out of monopolies. In our income taxes we have adopted the principle of graded rates, the larger incomes more highly taxed than the smaller. This graded principle applied in the taxation of land will effectually prevent vast landholdings, which

merely mean a dependent and eventually a peasant agricultural class.

We should be the world's greatest commercial nation. We have more of the globe's resources in our keeping than any other people, and more huge industrial plants to transform these raw materials of soil and mine into manufactured products. Commerce from our great harbors should cover the seas. Our farms and factories should hum with industry from year's end to year's end, for our soil and our manufactured products excel. We have never had such a tremendous opportunity to benefit the world and ourselves as now is knocking at our door. But this beneficent supremacy of peace times demands a constructive program which shall link up these great forces with argosies of merchant vessels, and with far-seeing, indefatigable, intelligent merchandising thru methods which will cater to the especial needs of the world's peoples.

A large amount of the enthusiasm for all these things, amounting to the dawn of a new day, will be brought back by the returning men. Our men who have gone forth to battle for the republic against the Hun, will come home to fight, as Americans coming back from all of our wars have fought, against the enemies of American institutions at home.

Rebirth of Democracy at Home.

The men who saved this country from the German invader, will come home, as the men of the Revolution and of the Civil War did, to save this republic from those here, as in Russia, who would waste this rich legacy of the soldier's sacrifice.

It is my guess the war will bring about a better understanding between man and man the world over. Here in America I expect to see it stop our frequent and costly strikes, and be the means of putting the anarchist agitator out of a job because he will have nothing to rave over. This will come because "Over There" the son of the millionaire and the son of the carpenter were fighting and bleeding

side by side, first the one and then the other risking his life to save his comrade, wounded in No Man's Land. Out of this struggle they are coming back with a new vision, a vision of the real man who has been found beneath the grime of labor and the polish of the college. And these comrades in arms today will be comrades in arms after the war is over; understanding one another as never before, they will strike hands together, work together, each for the other, and each for all, and a saner democracy will follow and the real brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God will rule the nation.

Courage and Wisdom Needed.

Practical men can be aided by a sympathetic state and national administration to put into effect these ideals that heretofore have only been hoped for. American initiative and American inventive genius and true American statesmanship should be backed up as never before.

It is a new birth that the nation will undergo; it is a new America that we will create in the next decade. And woe betide us if, thru timid fear, thru incompetency, thru selfish partisanship, we fail to meet the issues in a way that befits America and her destiny. The American people are ready to make this vision real. How nearly we shall attain it depends upon the courage and the wisdom of the men to whom you now entrust the shaping of governmental policies.

APPEAL TO CONGRESS FOR NATIONAL
PROHIBITION.

The Kansas delegation to the Anti-Saloon League convention at Washington on December 13, 1917, presented to Congress the following appeal from Governor Capper for

the immediate enactment of a bone-dry national prohibition measure :

To the Congress of the United States :

I wish to join the members of the Anti-Saloon League of America and other friends of prohibition in an earnest appeal for early and favorable action by Congress on the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the traffic in intoxicating liquors. I am prompted to this by a warm interest in the policy of prohibition and because of my knowledge of the far-reaching benefits obtained in Kansas by the closing of the saloons.

Kansas Knows Value of Prohibition.

We have had prohibition in Kansas for more than thirty-five years. To Kansas citizens prohibition is not an experiment; it is a tried, established institution. Our people have had opportunity to observe the operation of prohibition closely and I am entirely conservative in saying that fully 95 per cent of them consider the prohibitory law one of the greatest blessings ever bestowed upon the state by legislation. They rejoice in the knowledge the saloon can never return to us, that Kansas is done with it forever.

In approaching your honorable body on this subject I feel it appropriate to direct attention to a few instances wherein Kansas occupies a position of leadership. In the attainment of this leadership prohibition has had a large part.

As a strictly business matter prohibition has paid big dividends in Kansas. Its strongest advocates in the state are the large employers of labor, the managers of the big railroad corporations, and the labor organizations. More than 4,000 men are employed in the Santa Fe railway shops in Topeka—the driest city of its size in the world. These shops maintain the highest efficiency of any shops in the Santa Fe system. The general manager of the Santa Fe railway says the books of the company show these shopmen turn out more work, consistently and promptly the year round, than the men of any other railroad shops. Seventy-

two per cent of the married men in these shops own their own homes—a showing not equaled by any other railway town in America.

Business Booms Without Booze.

Opponents of prohibition contend that prohibition hurts business and retards the development of a state.

The livestock, orchard and agricultural crops of Kansas for 1916 amounted to more than 675 million dollars—an increase of more than 25 million dollars in one year. Of course, no one contends that prohibition is solely responsible for this showing of wealth, but this showing does present substantial evidence that prohibition does not hamper the progress of a people.

Kansas is one of the very few states in the Union without indebtedness.

On the basis of property assessed for taxation, Kansas has the greatest per capita wealth in the Union—\$1,773 for every man, woman and child within the state.

Kansas has 350 million dollars deposited in her banks—more than double the deposits of ten years ago.

Kansas, under prohibition, is one of two states in the Union having the smallest number of persons who cannot read and write. It is significant that the other exceptional state also is a prohibition state.

Kansas has 40 counties, out of a total of 105, which did not send a prisoner to the state penitentiary last year.

Prison Rate Is Low.

The prison rate for the entire country is 121 to the 100,000 population. In Kansas it is 50—one-half of one one-thousandth per cent.

Thirty-two Kansas counties have abandoned their county poor farms.

With one exception Kansas has the lowest death rate of any of the states within the registration area recognized by

the federal government. Again the exception is a prohibition state.

An investigation by the chief of the medical staff of the Osawatomie State Hospital for the Insane, at Osawatomie, Kan., shows the ratio of insanity having its origin in drunkenness, is only 1.7 per cent in Kansas. The national average is 10.1 per cent.

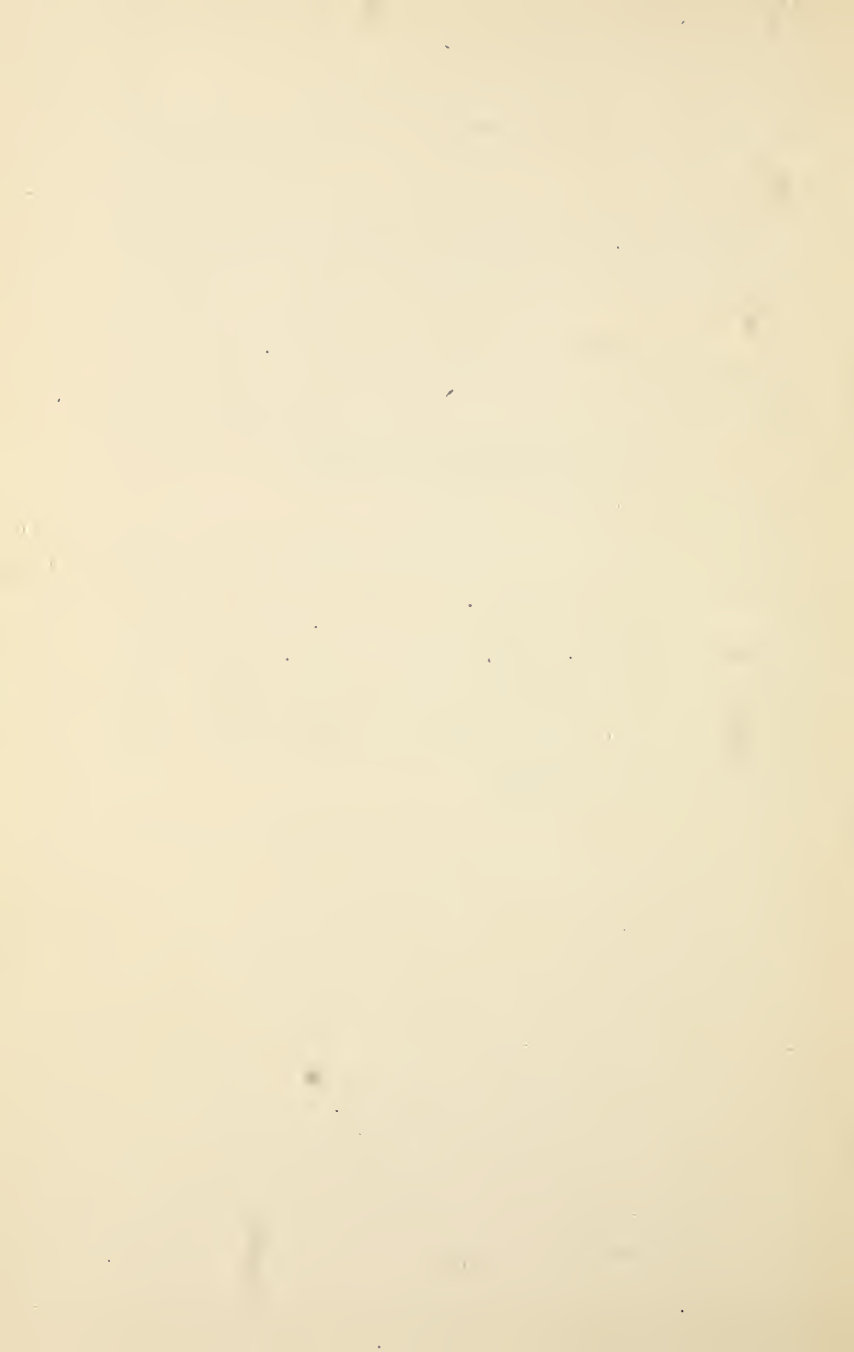
I am glad to submit these facts to you in support of the contention that prohibition has been conducive to the spiritual and material welfare of the people of Kansas. I hope you will find they merit your earnest consideration.

Very respectfully,

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

PATRIOTISM

Thru Mr. Capper's Public Addresses there runs a strong note of patriotism and like most public men he has been called on frequently for speeches on purely patriotic occasions. In the following pages will be found excerpts from addresses made on such occasions and from some of his speeches on other occasions.



THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MEMORIAL DAY.

From Memorial Day Speech at Clearwater, Kan., 1913.

Today in a thousand cities, in a myriad of villages, in quiet country churchyards, old men and white haired women, leaning on the arms of manly sons—with their children and their children's children about them, move with one impulse to the Place of Graves, and on the green mounds that cover the poor shell of what was once a hero, lay the bloom of spring in token of honor and respect and gratitude!

There seems to me, my friends, a tender significance in the season chosen for the day of special honor to our soldier dead. It was a happy inspiration of General John A. Logan that Memorial Day was so designated as to catch all the buds and blossoms of spring. Abraham Lincoln, "less than God, but infinitely greater than man," died in the spring. The last expiring groans of the rebellion were heard in April. The nation had washed the stains from its body in a river of sacrificial blood that flowed from the hearts of its bravest and noblest youth, and stood forth before the world with clean hands and a bright face and commenced a new life with triumphal march, just as the blossoms of spring had thrown a pall of flowering glory on the graves of the patriotic dead.

And so now, year by year, as our springs burst into radiant summer, we gather to honor the memory of those brave souls, living and dead, who in the spring-time of their eager young manhood gave their lives that this nation—one and undivided—might spring forth from chaos and disruption into that state of liberty and freedom of which our forefathers dreamed.

They, indeed, gave birth, with travail and agony, to a new nation, and theirs be the radiant glory of our summer of happiness.

And it was men in the spring-time of their youth who gave their lives and their all to the service of our country. The extreme youth of those who took part in our Civil War is to me one of the most interesting and one of the most pathetic features, of that gigantic struggle.

Think of it: more than 100,000 of the contestants in the great struggle of '61 to '65 were under 15 years of age.

More than 2 million were just 21 or under. Hardly out of school. Some of them barely out of knickerbockers. This seems to me to be one of the most astonishing facts in history. This stupendous war, carried on for four years, comprising some of the most stubbornly fought battles of all history, was virtually fought by boys, hundreds of thousands of whom should in the ordinary course of events, have received daily a father's protection and a mother's caresses. The tender age of so many engaged in this great strife furnishes convincing proof of what has so often been claimed that, after all, those who remained at home experienced the greatest measure of suffering. And who can measure the homesickness upon the field, and the grief and anxiety at home, all over the North and the South? It seems to me that these, after all, furnished the larger part of the tragedy of the Great War.

The soldiers who preserved this nation did not count the cost. They gave, or were willing to give, something infinitely more valuable than any bounty a grateful nation has since been able to bestow in the shape of a so-called pension. But the pension is an expression of the gratitude of the nation; inadequate, but not the less to be given on that account. The giving of the pension to the surviving soldiers or to the widow and the orphan, is one way by which the nation can say that it cannot be sufficiently grateful. The nation has given in pensions on account of the Civil War, nearly 3 billion dollars, an enormous sum,

but not beyond the power of a rich and grateful nation easily and cheerfully to give. This vast sum, let us remember, spread out over a whole generation, represents less than one-fiftieth part of the total wealth of the country at this moment; a sum surely not too great to bestow, not as a matter of charity, but of right, upon the preservers of the nation. A country that can burn up money for River and Harbor projects, Expositions, Panama canals, big battle-ships, and billion-dollar reclamation schemes is certainly rich enough to feed and care for her soldiers.

These Grand Army men belong to an organization unique in many respects. There is one condition, and only one, as I understand it, which admits to membership: A member of the Grand Army of the Republic must have been honorably discharged from the army in which he enlisted for service in the Civil War. Made of cannon captured in battle, the little bronze button you comrades wear on the lapel of your coat, bears upon its face the words which have proved cornerstones to the most honorable social organization ever instituted among men. Wealth cannot buy membership in your organization, nor can influence, nor position, however exalted. More than 40,000 ex-soldiers of the Union are dying every year, and the Grand Army of the Republic must grow ever smaller, because it cannot be recruited from a younger generation.

We are here today to honor the soldiers who took part in our Great War without regard to their rank.

We do honor the great generals of the war like Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, Logan and Meade, but on an occasion like this our thoughts are rather of the boys who went out from hundreds of thousands of homes, without regard to their rank in the service.

KANSAS IS GRATEFUL TO CIVIL WAR VETERANS.

*From a Memorial Day Address at Hoyt, Kan.,
May 30, 1914.*

I rejoice that Kansas as a state has not been unmindful of her soldier citizens. No state in the Union, I think, has more fully recognized the debt of gratitude we owe them. In our state capital we have just completed a beautiful building of granite and marble which shall be a lasting memorial to their valor and patriotism. The state has by law made Memorial Day a sacred day; secular amusements such as circuses and baseball are absolutely prohibited on this day. Every school house in Kansas must fly the American flag and must once a year observe this day of memorial.

The state maintains a Soldiers' Home at Fort Dodge for veterans and a Mother Bickerdyke Home for soldiers' widows at Ellsworth. We give old soldiers preference in public employment, and have made pauperism among our veterans impossible, each county of the state being compelled to provide subsistence for its needy veterans at their own homes, instead of in a public institution. And we see to it that the soldier, when his days are done, is laid to rest with due respect and honor, and in case his relatives are unable to provide fitting burial, the Kansas soldier is given a patriotic funeral at the state's expense.

Kansas honors itself in its attitude toward "the boys in blue."

We may well be proud today of the fact that Kansas sent more men to swell the ranks of the Union army in proportion to population than any other state. The call to arms was responded to by the people of Kansas with unparalleled unanimity and enthusiasm. Long before the President's official notification reached the governor, military com-

panies had been organized in every town and hamlet in the state and the first two regiments sworn into the service of the United States were not recruited—their companies were selected out of enough offered to form half a dozen regiments. You may not know that the official records of the war show that, reducing troops furnished to a 3-year standard, only one state in the Union filled the quotas assigned it, and that state was Kansas. The general government called on Kansas, during the four years from '61 to '65 for 12,931 men and we furnished nearly double the number called for—a total of 20,661, at a time when the whole number of voters in the state as shown by the election of 1860 was only 17,000 and its entire male population was a little less than 50,000. Furthermore, the official records also show that the proportion of Kansas soldiers killed in battle was larger than that of any other state. Massachusetts was third with 47 killed out of each thousand men, Vermont ranked second with 58 killed and Kansas had the highest battle mortality of all, 61 per thousand men. Such a record of devotion to a cause is, I believe, unexampled in the history of any other war that ever has occurred in any age or country.

And they have deposited in the new Memorial building at Topeka torn and tattered flags that all the wealth of Kansas could not buy. I know that Kansas will preserve among her priceless treasures, as long as her government shall endure, those ragged and faded flags—all that remain of the 18 Kansas regiments except a few thousand scattered survivors and the history with which they glorified the name of the state.

We who came after to enjoy the fruits and reap the harvests resultant from that great contest would be unworthy of the heritage left us if we did not strive diligently to advance in all that promotes good government and good citizenship.

FLAG ACCEPTANCE SPEECH.

*To the State Congress of the D. A. R. at Topeka,
January 29, 1914.*

It is with much pleasure that I accept, on behalf of the state of Kansas, from the society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the charge of transmitting to the keeping of the citizens of the City of Brotherly Love, this emblem of our country—the flag which we all revere. In Philadelphia on February 22nd, the anniversary of the birth of Washington, the President of the United States will raise this flag over Independence Hall—a token of the patriotism, the national feeling and the fraternal spirit of the West.

Fifty-four years ago, Abraham Lincoln, standing in Independence Hall, the spot now marked by a bronze tablet, unfurled the first American flag bearing on its field of blue a star for the new state of Kansas. On Washington's birthday patriotic citizens of Philadelphia will celebrate that event with appropriate ceremony; at the same moment, the people of Kansas will unfurl above our state house a flag sent us by citizens of Philadelphia, visualizing the great truth that we have no East, no North, no West, no South, but are one people, one nation and one flag.

I am glad that this flag goes to the birthplace of our nation from a sober, God-fearing, law-respecting people; from a state that has within its borders no open saloon; a state in which the people earnestly endeavor by law and custom to give to the poor man the same rights as to the rich man; a state in which womanhood is honored and respected, and where woman is in reality a citizen and is not classed in public affairs with criminals and the insane.

It is peculiarly fitting that the women of Kansas should be the donors of this flag, especially the women whose fore-

fathers, inspired by devotion to the cause of liberty, at Lexington, at Bunker Hill, at Saratoga, at Brandywine, at Valley Forge, at Yorktown, by heroic, blood-stained sacrifice made possible a new nation and gave significance to the emblem of red, white and blue stitched by the loving hands of Betsy Ross.

The flag which you have put into my hands today will be transmitted to a committee of citizens of Philadelphia as a gift from the state of Kansas. It will wave above Independence Hall, where 139 years ago the immortal Declaration of Independence was signed, giving to the world a new "Cradle of Liberty." I pray that this emblem of our country, as it floats over the beautiful city of Philadelphia, may instill in the hearts of all who see it, a greater love for this land of ours and its people, a greater devotion to freedom, justice and equality, and a more profound and deeper reverence for that righteousness which exalteth a nation. And may Kansas ever be true to all that flag represents; as a state may we ever stand for justice between man and man; as a people may we ever maintain high ideals; as individuals may we remember that sobriety, morality and fairness are the crowning virtues of life; and may we each do our part toward making Kansas greater in all things which make life worth while; in making America a greater nation where there shall be more of sympathetic and co-operative effort; and in hastening the progress of the race toward the Ultimate Goal of Man.

KANSAS THE SOLDIER STATE.

*From a Memorial Day Address at Wilson, Kan.,
May 29, 1915.*

I consider it as great an honor as can come to me, as great an honor as can be shown to any man, to be invited to come before the soldiers, the patriots, the heroes, who in time of need put aside their personal ambitions and gladly and

freely gave their young manhood and their lives to the country they loved.

I speak to you as a native son of Kansas. Since my earliest recollection the stories of the sacrifices and services of the Civil War veterans of this state have been an inspiration to me, as they must be to every young man who has observed the growth and advancement of this matchless commonwealth.

I hope we never shall forget in Kansas that this is the great soldier state of the Union, that Kansas really began the war six years before any other state had enlisted a regiment. When I remember that Kansas sent more men to swell the ranks of the Union army in proportion to population than any other state, I am proud that I am a Kansan, a native of this great soldier state.

More than 50 years ago, to right a deep wrong and to maintain a God-given principle, this nation offered a great human sacrifice on the altar of Liberty, Humanity and Justice. And it was not offered in vain, for the memory of it, the glory of it, the sacredness of it has come down to us as a heritage and an obligation to this day and generation.

We have met here today in memory of those great deeds of the '60s, to honor the brave men who performed them and the brave women who so freely gave up all that is dearest in a woman's life that these men might offer up their lives in that great sacrifice.

We mourn and honor those who fell, and we honor those who remain, who came through that fearful storm of death and have lived with us, their children and their children's children, to this day. They are heroes in our sight and in the world's sight. It will never cease to revere them and to honor them long after we are gone and, it may be, forgotten.

These "boys in blue" now are marching by. Every year from 12,000 to 15,000 in this country "obey the trumpet that shall never call retreat." Every month a regiment in the old army blue is mustered out.

So before our eyes is passing the remnant of the Grand

Army and ere we know it we shall lose our personal touch with the great events of the '60s and the men who took part in them. To many of us this passing of the Old Guard will mean the nearer, bitter personal loss of kindred.

Nearly 3 million men were engaged in the heroic struggle for the preservation of the Union.

The Civil War cost nearly a million lives.

About half of these men either died on the field of battle or in hospitals and prisons that we might actually be a free people and have a "star for every state and a state for every star," on a star-spangled banner, the most glorious banner the world has ever seen.

And the Civil War gave us Lincoln; Lincoln the compassionate, the patient, the long-suffering—a great human soul touched with the gentleness and the divinity of Christ—a flesh and blood evidence in our day that what we know of the Son of Man does not rest on myth alone. I like to believe and I do believe that Lincoln typifies the strength, the patience, the serenity, the nobility, the mercy and the sane commonsense of the American people.

This Memorial Day, the day which links our hearts and actions to the past, brings sharply to our attention the obligation and the duty we owe to the present and the future. We are turning a mighty page in history to face a struggle no less momentous. The duty has come to us not only to insure human rights to all men at home, but to inspire and win respect for these rights abroad; not only to stand for the reign of law and order among men, but among nations.

May we dedicate and consecrate ourselves to this duty inspired by that fading line of blue.

A WAR FOR PROGRESS.

*From a Memorial Day Address at Olathe, Kan.,
May 31, 1915.*

The Civil War as much as anything else was a fight against conservatism. It was a fight for progress, waged

by the more progressive portion of the nation against the reactionary portion of the nation; both sides of course being sincere and each sure it was right.

I am talking the language of Abraham Lincoln when I say that we must today in Kansas, as all over this great, growing country, have new measures to meet new issues.

You men of the Grand Army of the Republic fought not only for the preservation of the Union, but you fought also for liberty and for equality of opportunity. That is the only kind of Union you would have fought for; the only kind it is worth while to fight for. The sacrifices you made, the suffering you and your dead comrades underwent, the drops of agony you shed, were all that this nation might indeed be the land of the free—where every man has equal privilege and equal rights. You have done your part; on the long, long march, in the tedious, homesick camp, on the shrieking field of battle, in the sickening hospital and in the loathsome prison—you have played well your part—and the nations of the earth have acclaimed you the greatest soldiers the world ever has seen.

You made possible a free people. But that was not all that you did. That, in truth, was a small part of your accomplishing. All that you did would have gone for naught—save for one thing—and that was the example you set for the men who came after you—we men and women of this generation. The inspiration of your life—and death—of your self-sacrifices, of your fidelity to duty, of your loyalty—that is what counts and that is what makes your suffering worth while.

I believe there are indications today in this country and this state of a revived love for the flag of our country, and I could wish that no American citizen would look upon it without saluting it. I hope that from this sacred spot, we shall go to our homes more resolutely set in our purpose as citizens of Kansas to conserve the peace and welfare of our state, to hold up the dignity and honor of our free institutions and to see that no harm shall come to our country,

whether from internal dissensions or from the aggressions of a foreign foe.

The tide of immigration is still to the West. Let us encourage it. But let us see that these immigrants come in well-ordered procession; that they come as friends and neighbors—to mingle their blood with ours; to build their homes on our fields, to plant their Christian faith on these broad Kansas prairies, and not seeking to plant strange heresies of government and faith; but honoring our constitution and reverencing our God, to confirm and not estrange the simple faith in which we have been reared, and which we should transmit unsullied to future generations.

I am not here today to speak in a spirit of pessimism or of fault-finding. Indeed, I am happy in the belief that the world really grows better from age to age.

There never was a time, it seems to me, in the history of this country when there was so much real interest in human welfare; so much of the spirit of fair play; so much real sympathy; so much high ideal, so much of the spirit of patriotism as there is today.

But there is still so much to do; great problems to solve in which you good men and women and especially the younger generation can and will have a big part; the curse of intemperance must be utterly banished from America by complete nation-wide prohibition of the liquor traffic. I hope and believe you and I shall live to see the day when the saloon will be outlawed from every state in the Union.

The abominable social evil, white slavery and commercialized vice, must be eradicated; the indefensible double standard of morals must be wiped out absolutely; the exploitation of children in factories and mills must be stopped; there must be less desecration of the Sabbath; economic justice must be brought to the men and women who produce the wealth of the nation; the opportunity for a practical education must be given to every child in the land.

We must have a system that will make justice free in fact

as well as in theory, to the poor as well as the rich; that will punish big thieves as well as little thieves, that will intelligently and impartially enforce all our laws, and insure a larger measure of human welfare and social righteousness—these and a great many more problems which crowd upon us, insistently demand solution.

We must not turn back or turn aside until we make America the land where honor rules the market, where a common man shall have in every respect a man's chance; until we make Kansas a commonwealth whose high ambition is the common weal of mankind.

Our effort today must be to bring into united and concerted action all who are earnestly intent on combating the evils that curse the world, who would speed the progress of justice and peace and righteousness and brotherhood among men, and who would exalt and honor the King of kings as supreme among the nations as well as among men.

I know that every good influence of this community will join the press in support of the present-day program which places humanity above the dollar, which inaugurates those vitally constructive measures, social, moral and economic, lifting the common life to a higher level, which demands for every individual, no matter what his condition, color, or creed, the right to an equal opportunity, a fair field and no favors. It's a program that means much for the cause of justice, for the helpless and the wronged, the betterment of mankind, for the promulgation of righteous laws and the triumph of higher civic ideals, for honest and decent administration of public affairs—a program, my friends, which is worthy the consecrated effort of every Christian citizen of Kansas.

We may differ as to theories and methods, but we must be agreed in the one idea that America must reach her perfect grandeur through the patriotism of her people—a patriotism not necessarily the result of conflict, but of pa-

tience and self-sacrifice, of earnest endeavor; of conscientious effort; of honesty of purpose.

May I not therefore ask you to carry the patriotic sentiments and emotions of today into your homes, into your schools, where children are gathered and teach them that the eye of the young and the old should look upon that flag as one of the familiar glories of every Kansan.

THE KANSAS TYPE OF PATRIOTISM.

*From an Address at the Wichita (Kan.) M. E. Church,
Patriotic Day, July 4, 1915.*

It is in no spirit of self-righteousness that I have spoken to you of the high standards and high ideals of our state. I realize, and I think every thinking Kansan realizes, that there is much yet to be accomplished. Kansas has many problems yet to solve. America has questions big with import pressing for solution. The whole world must take a long step forward before we reach the ideal state of a universal brotherhood of man. We in Kansas, as well as our friends across the seas, must approach these problems with true humility of spirit. We cannot credit ourselves with all the virtue of the world. We, in Kansas, in common with the rest of humanity, need a broader patriotism, a patriotism that will embrace not only our own community, not only our own state, not only our own nation, but that will include the children of God wherever they are found.

We need a patriotism that will lead us to make personal sacrifices in our daily lives for the common good; we need a patriotism that will enable us to look at all public questions in a spirit of fairness and justice to our fellow men; we need a patriotism that will enable us to see the other side of controversies and to feel a deep sympathy with the other man's viewpoint; we need, most of all, an individual patriotism which will make us see that no real progress for our country can be gained at the expense of any class or any

section. Humanity must rise together. A position attained in private life or in public life by the individual at the expense of others is a position of dishonor rather than honor; a place gained by a state or nation through injustice rests on a foundation which cannot stand. We all need to learn this lesson.

This question of patriotic citizenship is not merely a theme for Fourth of July orations and sermons. It is intensely practical. It comes home to every one of us. You each have an individual interest—a selfish interest, if you please—in maintaining the highest possible grade of citizenship in your community, in your county, in your state and in your nation. It concerns you and your personal welfare. It pays to maintain good citizenship. It pays to be a good citizen. I think we may well congratulate ourselves on this memorable anniversary that the spirit of a broader, deeper patriotism—the patriotism that takes into account the well-being and the rights of the humblest citizen—is growing all over this country.

In every walk of American life, from the humble day laborer to the haughty millionaire, I think we still maintain that high quality of courage and sacrifice and patriotism which has distinguished our race throughout the ages.

When the *Lusitania* was sinking Alfred Vanderbilt gave the lifebelt which might have saved his life, to a woman he never had seen before. Then he proceeded to assist other women and children to the boats. When the *Titanic* sank, Colonel John Jacob Astor placed his young wife in a lifeboat. Then in a seat beside her, which he might have taken, he placed another woman, calmly accepting death by drowning for himself. As a people we seldom have a good word for our men of millions, but none of us may question the manhood nor the high courage of these two who had youth, wealth and everything else to live for; who had never known what it was to deprive themselves of anything, and

sturdy sense and thrift of the Dutch on Manhattan Island; the love of liberty of the Huguenots; the spirit of adventure and high enterprise of the Cavaliers; and the soul of all our fathers who braved the perils of the seas and the dangers and trials of an unknown wilderness to found a new nation in a new world.

That is what "Old Glory" means to you: the blood and spirit, the life and soul of all the patriots who made possible a land of the free.

JOHN BROWN THE IMMORTAL.

*At the John Brown Celebration, Osawatomie, Kan.,
August 30, 1916.*

We gather here today to take from the hands of gentle, tender-hearted women a tablet of bronze which shall be an enduring memorial to a man who died in blood and strife.

The constituted authorities under the law of the land hung John Brown by the neck until dead, as an outlaw, a traitor, a murderer.

His closest friends, his most ardent sympathizers regarded him as a fanatic, a mad man.

A half century ago millions looked upon him as the embodiment of all that is diabolical and destructive in human society. His name was a by-word and a hissing to a large portion of the American people. And yet in this time of a world crisis, when we are depressed by the horror of world-wide war, and impressed as never before by the hopeless futility of force in the solution of the problems of the race—we gather here in loving memory of a man who set at naught the laws of his land and sought by petty insurrection and riot to destroy a world-old institution, firmly engrafted upon society and deeply entrenched in law.

Why do we, law-abiding and law-respecting American citizens—we who would have all things done in decency and

yet who could renounce life itself simply to be American gentlemen.

When the flood swept over Topeka, Edward Grafstrom, Santa Fe engineer, hastily built a raft, and in the face of almost certain death, rescued more than a score of men and women before going down to death in the turbulent waters from which he had saved them at the sacrifice of his life. When a child fell into a well filled with deadly gases, Henry Robinson, a plain, every day citizen of Pierceville, Kan., without a moment's hesitation, lowered himself into the poisonous fumes and saved—at the risk of his own—a precious human life. Kansas history, from the first day down to the present, is filled with deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice. In the field, on the street, in the railway yard, we find every day men and women who are ready to lay down their lives in the service of humanity. It is not necessary to go to the bloody battlefields of Europe to find heroes, nor to the camps and hospitals of that sore beset continent to find true heroines. I know that we have them here in Kansas—men and women of heroic strain, who in living their daily life, in doing their part in the world's work, in maintaining the high standards which are our ideal, are showing as great heroism and patriotism as was ever shown in storm or battle.

In my opinion one great evidence that education and home-training is not a failure in Kansas, is that in Kansas patriotism—true patriotism—is a household virtue. Our Kansas boys and girls are Americans, every inch of them. And I believe it will not be difficult to inspire in them as men and women, the desire to make an intensely practical and effective use of this patriotic feeling; to turn their patriotism into patriotic action, and so, live it. What a great thing for Kansas and the nation!

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FLAG.

*From Flag Day Speech, Memorial Hall, Topeka, Kan.,
June 14, 1916.*

What does this flag—our own “Old Glory”—mean to you and to me?

It is only a piece of bunting with its stripes of red and white and its field of blue strewn with stars. In and of itself it would mean nothing to a stranger who had never before seen it. Why, then, does every true American feel thruout his whole being a thrill when he sees it flapping in the breeze or borne at the head of a column of marching men? We think it the most beautiful flag in the world; we love its mingled colors; but we know that its appeal is not to our artistic sense alone; it is not its beauty that moves and inspires us. Deeper than its wondrous blue; brighter than its brilliant red; higher than its shining stars is its significance. For it symbolizes as does no other national insignia, the foundation upon which Civilization and Religion itself must rest: the inherent right of a people to self-government and freedom of conscience.

That is what “Old Glory” means to you: Freedom from the tyranny of king and czar; freedom from the tyranny of class and caste or sect; freedom to grow, to expand, to develop; freedom to work out your own salvation; freedom for your posterity—for your sons and their sons and daughters after them.

The flag is to us the visible emblem of all that lovers of liberty in all lands and in all times, have suffered and fought and died for. It represents the ideals for which the martyrs “whose blood was the seed of the church” went to the stake and gibbet. Betsy Ross sewed into its fabric the aspirations and the grim determination of the Pilgrim Fathers; the charity and benevolence of the Quakers; the

in order—revere as a hero the gaunt old Yankee outlaw of Osawatomie?

Why have these patriotic women who are so firmly opposed to all forms of lawlessness, who teach their children respect for authority, who shrink with horror from the shedding of blood—why have they with loving hands erected this memorial to one who rode rough-shod over so many of the principles they hold so dear?

Why has the name of John Brown a place so high in the roll of American heroes?

The answer is not difficult. There is no inconsistency between our respect for law and order and our reverence for the memory of that willing martyr in the cause of Freedom. John Brown, madman tho he may have been, possessed by one idea—obsessed by it perhaps—nevertheless heard within him the mandate of a law higher than the law made by man, and touched by the divine fire that burns in the soul of the prophets and the martyrs, went without flinching to the task set him by his conscience.

Human slavery was repugnant to every right-thinking man and abhorrent to God. Away with it, then! Why waste time in academic discussions or in milk-and-water parleyings? The way to free the slaves was to free them! A nation was arguing and discussing and splitting hairs while an enslaved people was dragging its shackled limbs to unremitting toil. It was time for action, for deeds—not words; and while a hesitating people waited and self-seeking public men procrastinated, the valiant John Brown, a man who never knew what physical fear meant, started the conflagration that purged this nation and the world of the vilest blot of modern civilization. His authority, as one of his followers told an inquirer at Harper's Ferry, was God Almighty; like Ethan Allen at Ticonderoga, he acted "in the name of the Great Jehovah"; his commission came from his conscience, and if the God of Hosts sent him no reinforcements it was not John Brown's fault.

The time was not ripe. But John Brown's devotion to

his ideal of liberty and freedom; the blow he struck in behalf of a more righteous civilization, was not wasted. His mad expedition was not a failure. He did not die in vain. The calm dignity with which he met his doom, worthy of a Socrates with his hemlock, roused a lethargic North and cemented a fiery South as nothing else could have done. His execution, hailed in the South as a righteous vengeance of outraged law and in the North as a glorious martyrdom, forced the issue and hastened the inevitable contest that remade this nation of free people.

We are slowly, all too slowly, forgetting the rancor and bitterness of those mad days of fifty and sixty years ago. We may well let the dead past bury its dead. But we have a priceless heritage in the memory of those valiant souls who with devotion to their country and with love for humanity, dared all, gave all for an ideal. And in that list of heroes no name shines with greater lustre than that of John Brown of Osawatomie. This tablet which we put in place today is merely a record of our appreciation of his valor and righteous zeal. The memory of John Brown needs no brass nor bronze to perpetuate it. His is indeed

“—one of the few, immortal names
That were not born to die.”

His soul goes marching on.

EFFICIENT PUBLIC SERVICE.

From an Address to the Chase County Republican Convention, Cottonwood Falls, March 11, 1916.

Quietly, without fuss, or feathers, or fireworks—just as I do in my own business—I have endeavored to give the people of Kansas a clean, an honest, an open, a straightforward, a self-respecting and a business-like administration. I am watching the state institutions closely, cutting out waste and graft, selecting only competent, high-grade

men for public service; and I am succeeding wherever my work is not blocked by laws purposely passed to intrench the spoils system.

Within a year I have visited and inspected from top to bottom every one of the state's 18 educational, charitable and reformatory institutions. I have inspected all of them once and some of them twice, and I have suggested and made changes at every one.

By better system and by giving the men steady employment during working hours, we have doubled the output of coal at the penitentiary mine and greatly increased the product of its other industries. At the same time, I have put over these prisoners the kindest and most humane warden they have ever had and the most efficient. These men are never so unhappy as when they have no purposeful work to do and no incentive for which to work. The physical, moral, and mental condition of the penitentiary is immeasurably better under Warden Coddington and improvement is steadily going forward. All slipshod methods are being weeded out and this institution has been reclaimed from the badly demoralized condition in which we found it.

The highly ornamental and eleemosynary office of hotel inspector has been abolished. It provided a soft place for nearly a half-dozen seat-warming individuals and was doing nobody any real service.

I found it was not an uncommon thing for a number of inspectors from other state departments to be in the same town at the same time. On one occasion nine of them appeared in one little town on the same day. Now one man is sent and he makes a more thoro inspection than the nine did formerly. An immense saving in traveling expenses and salaries has been the result.

We have cut off the irrigation board graft, which simply provided high salaries for three men and gave them no opportunity to earn even a small part of it.

At the State Orphans' Home I found one paid employe on the payroll for every four children and a superintendent

conceded to be unfitted for the duties of the office. All this has been changed and a superintendent of experience, one having a great natural love for children, is in charge.

I obtained for a state accountant a man who has developed a bookkeeping system for counties that is used in many states. He is instituting a uniform system of accounting for all the state departments and institutions, whereby they may readily be checked up and their condition and the quality of their management be made clearly apparent day by day, just as in a scientifically conducted business. When I turned the office of state accountant over to Mr. Caton, I said to him: "Your job is not political. What we want is results." And we are getting the results. This important work is steadily going forward.

We found we had a superintendent at the Hutchinson Reformatory who was exceptionally efficient. And he is a Democrat. I did just what you would do or I would do in my own business. I kept him. The state of Kansas cannot afford to lose such an official just because he was raised a Democrat, and is not going to so long as I am governor: I am retaining all the first-class men that I find in the public service regardless of politics when their records show they are entitled to it, by being unusually competent, and faithful. A governor who does otherwise violates his oath of office and his promise to the people. This is the only way we shall ever get 100 cents worth of service for every dollar we spend. This must be the first purpose in building up and maintaining a public service that will deliver the goods. And this must be the policy if our tax money is ever to be well spent. Furthermore, I say to you that this is good politics for the Republican party or for any other party. The acid test is the party's service to the people. And service is one of the great fundamental principles of Republicanism. The Republican party has always been quick to rise above party whenever it was to the interest of state or nation to do so. Of this its whole history is eloquent.

I have given every state employe to understand by many

examples, by letter and by word of mouth that no incompetent or useless person can hold a job under this administration simply because he "votes right." He must do his work earnestly, industriously and well to be kept. Simply because he "votes the ticket" is no longer a reason for keeping anyone on the state's payroll.

There were 60 men who wanted the job of fish and game warden. Many of them were good men but without experience. I selected a man who had had 21 years' experience in such work for the government and the state, and he is conducting, in the way it should be conducted, a much more important part of the state's business than the spoilsmen have ever let the people of Kansas realize there was in that job.

I might go on at length. This is a subject I always approach with enthusiasm because my heart is in it, but it would take too long to tell it all or to go into detail.

In bringing about and in doing these things, I believe I am standing for the practical ideals Kansas Republicanism believes in and you believe in. The great central, driving purpose behind it all is the purpose to promote and encourage the development of our state agriculturally, industrially and educationally—a big, broad, liberal policy in keeping with a great state and looking for every practical avenue for advancement, including a system of good roads that will be good roads, and a system of state government that will be systematic, working like clockwork with the least noise and the least expense and giving everybody genuine, steady and faithful service all the time with the least waste of time, means or labor. That is a glorious ambition worthy of us as Kansans, as citizens and as party men.

INAUGURAL ADDRESSES
AND
LEGISLATIVE MESSAGES



FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

*Delivered in Representative Hall, the State Capitol,
Topeka, Kan., January 11, 1915.*

Fellow Citizens: In compliance with the will of the sovereign people of Kansas; in accordance with the constitution of the state, I have appeared here today to take the oath of office as your chief state executive, and with deep and solemn realization of the responsibilities imposed, to pledge and promise you before God, the Almighty Ruler, to consecrate to the people of my native state all my energies and my utmost ability. God help me to be faithful to the trust given me this day.

To my associates in every department of the state administration, I offer congratulations upon the opportunity we together have to serve the people of Kansas; I promise them my whole-hearted co-operation in their work. To my predecessor in the office of governor, who has given this state his best service for the last two years, I join with all Kansas in wishing happiness and success in whatever he undertakes.

No Pet Measures.

My friends, I am to be your executive for the next two years—the first governor chosen by the suffrage of both the men and the women of the state. I shall earnestly endeavor to be the faithful and conscientious steward of the state which has honored me; to be in every official act just and fair; to avoid favoritism and partisanship, and to serve faithfully the whole state. I have no pet schemes nor fads to introduce; no political panacea to propose; no revolutionary methods to try. I shall simply endeavor to do my duty thoroughly and to administer the affairs of the state in a business-like manner. I shall have need of your pa-

tience and forbearance. Above all, I ask the broadminded, patriotic men and women of Kansas of all political parties, to co-operate with me in working out the many problems with which our state government is concerned. Your responsibility for good government does not cease when you cast your ballot; no governor alone can accomplish what you in your hearts want done for Kansas. He must have back of him the sympathetic support and the hearty, active co-operation of all good people. We are realizing in Kansas that there is much to do. I invite all who would speed the progress of good government, of decency and justice, and peace and brotherhood among men, to join hands with me in combating the social and political evils and the economic wrongs from which we suffer.

Looking For Better Ways.

We live in a day of readjustments. This second decade of the Twentieth Century is a time of unrest, of change. Mankind is examining the old ways and is asking with a new insistence if there be better ways. Science and invention, by a series of marvelous and bewildering discoveries, in a single generation, have completely revolutionized our material life and the business methods of the civilized world. New utilities have changed our methods of work and our manner of living. And along with these wonderful inventions, has come an enlarged, and, I think, wholesome view of the function of government, which brings with it the imperative necessity of a revision and rearrangement of much of our governmental systems. The methods of administration of our great railway systems and our big industrial corporations have changed mightily in the last quarter century. Even the small tradesman with his deepened appreciation of system has radically changed his business methods in a decade. But in the business of government—local, state and national—we have been slow to adopt the scientific methods which are working out so satisfactorily in private business. Until quite recently the term efficiency in this

specialized significance has hardly been thought of in connection with public affairs. Petty graft, favoritism, appointments made solely for partisan effect and all the waste and corruption of the abominable spoils system have, too often, been taken as a matter of course.

As an inevitable consequence the burdens of taxation have increased at an alarming rate without commensurate benefit to the public. In Kansas the total expense of government, state and local, in 10 years has risen from 16 million dollars annually to 30 million dollars, far out of proportion to growth in population. We cannot charge that this increase has been entirely uncalled for; much of the money has been wisely expended in building up institutions which are a credit to Kansas; but under our antiquated, incoordinate, cumbersome system unsuited to modern business conditions, we invite graft and encourage carelessness, and in the end have a government that is wasteful, expensive, and inadequate to our growing needs.

Must Have Business Methods.

The day has come when we people of Kansas must give most serious attention to the urgent necessity of many changes in the business methods of our state and county and municipal government. I do not believe that the state government should be made the experimental ground for fads; for sudden, sweeping changes, nor for wild or revolutionary departures from known or worked-out methods; we cannot afford to try out dreams at the people's expense. But neither can we afford to wrap ourselves in the comfortable, easy mantle of precedent and close our eyes to the advantages arising from the adopting of modern methods of conducting business, from more economical means, from shorter cuts, from increased efficiency and from a greater concentration of responsibility.

Kansas must adopt, in the administration of public affairs, a modern, scientific, business system which will eliminate what is useless and provide for more direct, more eco-

nomical and more efficient methods. It is not enough to elect honest men, or well-meaning men, or capable men to positions of trust and responsibility if we tie their hands with useless red tape and enforce upon them cumbersome, expensive and wasteful methods. My predecessors in office have had to meet this very real difficulty, as I shall, and I honor them for what they have accomplished in spite of these obstacles.

Requires Scientific Study.

This needed reorganization is not the work of a day nor of one administration. It will require constant study of the most searching, scientific nature, and statesmanship of the most practical order, prompted and backed by an honest determination to give the people of Kansas the most efficient system of government that can be devised for them. Other states of the Union are grappling with this big problem and are studying, investigating and testing. Kansas must step into line and begin at once a careful investigation of a more scientific business system which will promote efficiency and economy—from the state house down to the township trustee. This I consider one of the most pressing problems of our immediate future, and I am strong in the hope that advanced steps toward its solution will be taken during this administration.

Kansas is still a young state, but we believe it to be a state destined under the providence of the Almighty to great things. It behooves us who have been so blessed to keep ever in mind, now while we are still in the formative period of our material and social development, the future of the state and its people. We must build wisely that we may hand down to posterity a commonwealth noble in structure and form, suited as well as we can foresee to the needs of a coming generation. Timidity, indifference, niggardliness are not in keeping with the Kansas spirit. From the dark and trying days of the state's first settlement, the

Kansas people have shown a willingness to dare, to sacrifice, even to die for the common good.

And we have many tasks before us; material tasks which need money for their accomplishment. The standard of our rural schools must be raised and our state educational institutions be kept on a par with the best of any state in the Union. We must improve, as rapidly as possible, our public roads and highways. The state's latent resources must be developed, some of them perhaps at public expense. Several of our penal and charitable institutions demand immediate improvement and increased facilities.

Need to Watch Expenditures.

We cannot ignore all these insistent demands. Kansas could use profitably ten times the amount of money that our tax levy provides. But there is a time for all things, and I do not believe that the people of Kansas are in a mood to sanction large expenditures at this time or heavy investments for the future, while the world is going through one of the greatest crises in its history. Business has been demoralized to an extent that we in prosperous, sun-warmed, God-favored Kansas do not realize. We, in Kansas, have felt only the outermost effects of the terrible disaster which is convulsing civilization; we do not appreciate the suffering, the want and woe which have settled like a pall upon the greater part of the human race.

I am not pessimistic; I do not think America is to have a protracted period of business depression, but I believe this is the year of all years to use the pruning knife on appropriations; to eliminate every useless public position; to see to it that men who are elected or appointed to perform certain duties, perform them themselves instead of delegating them to assistants; to adopt a policy of rigid economy in public affairs, just as the business man does, just as the

housewife does, just as the farmer does when circumstances compel him to economize.

Make Simple and Just Laws.

In this necessary policy of economy, I hope we may see the desirability of restraint in creating needless legislation. We make too many laws. Our need is not more laws, but laws made so plain, so simple, so direct and so just, that the humblest citizen can know them and understand them and respect them and obey them. There are in Kansas, as elsewhere, evils to correct, abuses to reform, new conditions to meet. Theoretically, our representatives meet in biennial session to consider what changes are necessary to our state statutes, that our people may deal justly with one another; to make the rule of public conduct and private transaction clearer and plainer; to correct injustice between man and man; to protect the public health and morals—these ostensibly are the objects of the deliberations of our legislative bodies. A certain amount of legislation is necessary, but in practice how often do we find a personal motive or a private interest prompting the introducing of a bill; how often do we find members voting with small regard to the intent or effect of a measure; with the result that hastily-drawn, illy-considered, illy-advised measures are enacted into laws, cumber our statute books, breed litigation, and work hardships to a patient and long-suffering people. I hope the Kansas legislature of 1915 will give most careful consideration to the need, the intent and the form of every measure which comes before it, that our people may have constructive legislation and be spared a flood of unnecessary and confusing laws. Let our effort be toward speedier and cheaper administration of justice; the utmost simplicity of form and language; straightforwardness of intent and even-handed justice for every citizen of Kansas, no matter what his condition, color or creed.

Kansas has been greatly blessed in material things. But these are not our greatest glory. The pioneers who trans-

formed this wilderness for us were hardy men and women, strong of heart and great of soul. They laid the foundation for a great state. It was Kansas that led the way in the great struggle for human freedom in the '60s and the Kansas conscience, during the last quarter of a century, has done much in the nation to elevate the moral and commercial standards of the people.

Kansas Has Constructive Laws.

Kansas has a shining record of accomplishment in the field of successful, constructive legislation. Its prohibitory law, equal suffrage law, its "blue sky" law, its bank guaranty law, its primary election law, its anti-pass law, its pure-food law and its state text-book law, show the progressive, forward-looking spirit of the Kansas people.

There has been a genuine effort in Kansas to incorporate into our body politic, fundamental, moral ideas; we have tried to base our laws upon eternal truths which tend to righteousness. Kansas comes nearer giving every man, woman and child within its borders an absolutely square deal and equal chance in every department of life than any other commonwealth in this Union. And this has been true because our Kansas citizenship is made up of men and women dominated by Christian ideals of right living, high thinking, decency, honesty, sobriety, industry and the noblest things of life. Our material prosperity, our high standards of public morals, our personal well-being are largely due to the fact that for more than 30 years the open saloon has been an outlaw in this state. Our physical development has not been stunted, and our moral sense has not been blunted by the degenerating influences of drink. And we may rejoice that the Kansas election of 1914 forever settles the saloon question in this state. That vote emphasizes as never before that prohibition is a distinctive political policy of Kansas. There can be no turning backward from the course which has brought such manifold blessings to our people. We may confidently expect the

liquor evil, like murder, arson and highway robbery, to show itself at times, but I promise you this administration will not for a single moment relax the most searching, stringent, vigorous and continuous enforcement of the prohibitory law. There cannot be any temporizing with this thing, nor should there be any compromise with its partner in crime, the redlight district.

To Lead in National Prohibition.

The record Kansas has made in proving that prohibition does prohibit; the blessings which have followed its enactment as a part of our fundamental law, makes it incumbent upon us as a duty to the nation as well as a policy of self-protection, to take the lead in an active propaganda for national prohibition. We must make the happy conditions we have achieved known to the world. To this extent we are emphatically "our brother's keeper." We cannot evade the responsibility. It is our duty to say to the people of the United States: "The public health, the public peace, the public morals, and the public welfare demand the complete eradication of the saloon and the absolute prohibition of its wretched and destructive traffic."

Many of us who live in Kansas and have learned to take prohibition as a matter of course, do not fully appreciate the intensity and the proportions of the struggle now waging in every part of the United States for national prohibition. The victory is coming just as surely as the American people retain their sanity and judgment. But the battle will not be won without herculean effort. From this time forward until the question is settled and settled rightly, national prohibition will be one of the big issues—possibly the chief issue—in every national political campaign; and Kansas must lead the battle.

Pledges Vigorous Championship.

We have had nation-wide prohibition in all the great American industries for nearly 10 years. National prohibi-

tion itself should no longer be delayed. It will not be long in coming if Kansas people give the movement their active leadership and their vigorous championship. I here pledge you that my utmost endeavor shall be to aid this movement, to use all the influence I possess, as a citizen, as a newspaper man, and as a public official, to advance this great cause.

I rejoice with the people of Kansas that the women of our state have been admitted to the full rights of citizenship. By the large vote they cast at the recent election, they have shown a ready willingness to assume their new responsibilities and have made certain that we may expect a higher standard in public affairs and especially in public morals as a result. The influence of Kansas should be exerted in every possible way to bring about equal suffrage in the nation.

Try as we may, we move slowly toward the ultimate goal of mankind—the brotherhood of man. In the two years we are now entering upon, may we people of Kansas do our part in that slow but sure advance in human progress; for loftier ideals; for a wider and deeper justice; for a quickened sense of public honor and public duty; toward making our beloved state a little cleaner, a little more decent, happier, and more God-like.

SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

*Delivered in Representative Hall, the State Capitol,
Topeka, Kan., January 8, 1917.*

Fellow Citizens: For the second time, I have come to this chamber to register my sacred promise to the people of Kansas—a promise to serve them all faithfully, honestly and fairly. After two years in public office, in closer contact with the people of my native state than ever before, I have today greater pride in my state, more intense love for my country and a broader, deeper faith in humanity. I have had disappointments, I have made mistakes, but I

believe as I have never before believed in the patriotism, the integrity, the good sense and the noble intentions of the Kansas people. In this most important respect, my pride and my faith in Kansas have deepened and strengthened. It is a far greater honor and a much greater responsibility than thousands of us appreciate—or have opportunity of appreciating—to be chosen the chief executive of such a people and of such a state.

I shall not attempt here today to set forth in detail an elaborate legislative program. I have no panacea to offer for our social and political ills. The most I can do is to point out the urgent need of certain improvements in the conduct of the public business and certain desirable reforms in our social system for which I believe our people are now more than ready. Then to pledge to you my earnest efforts in effecting these reforms and to ask your sincere and whole-hearted co-operation in such of my suggestions as appeal to your common sense.

I beg you to remember that your co-operation is of greater importance than the zeal or the good intentions or the high purpose of any governor or individual leader. Good government is a matter of good citizenship, and good citizenship is personal.

Time to Modernize Government.

Two years ago I voiced in my first utterance as governor, the need of Kansas for a more modern system of transacting its public business. The appreciation of that need has grown upon me, and I believe upon the people. It is notorious that the state, the county and the city have lagged behind private corporations and individual firms in adopting business methods of proved efficiency and economy. This is partly due to an easy-going lethargy which worships precedent and resents change. But the people now are ready for an immediate reorganizing of our unwieldy and wasteful system; for eliminating unnecessary boards, commissions and officers; for concentrating authority and re-

sponsibility—in short for adopting the same business principles in public affairs that they use so successfully in their private business.

This, I think, is plain business sense. The state, county or city should no more hesitate or neglect to adopt labor-saving, time-saving, money-saving methods than it would hesitate to adopt labor-saving machinery or labor-saving office appliances. The people of Kansas want whatever tends to eliminate a waste of time or a waste of money. They want more direct methods in dealing with public affairs and in the transaction of public business. The rapidly-increasing cost of every supply purchased by the state, makes it almost inevitable that appropriations for the mere maintenance of state institutions will be greater than those of two years ago. On every side pressure will be brought to bear for the making of improvements, for expansion, for increased facilities. The need in many quarters is great, and Kansas is not niggardly. With such demands upon the people's money it is imperative that a scientific, systematic method be adopted; that the cost of administration be reduced to the minimum; that no public funds be wasted thru red tape formalities; that the state get 100 cents value for every dollar it spends. Political red tape is the most expensive kind of dry goods we buy and the most useless.

New Constitution if Necessary.

But it is not only in the interest of economy that a revision of the machinery of government is demanded. The business man who has a lax system of bookkeeping, who conducts his business by slipshod methods, encourages graft and dishonesty and inefficiency among his employes. If they go wrong a part of the responsibility rests with him. Likewise the state which retains slipshod methods in the conduct of its affairs is putting a premium upon inefficiency and looseness and waste and dishonesty on the part of its employes. If you do not insist upon strict business

methods, and provide a business-like system of government, you, yourselves, are to blame for the shortcomings and inefficiency of the men elected or appointed to serve you. The question is as much one of public morals as of public economy. The purpose of government is not to furnish jobs to vote getters. It is not to supply fat contracts to business men who may have contributed liberally to the campaign fund. We must get away forever from the idea that public office is a reward of anything other than ability and industry and fitness for the duties of the office. We must seek for expert management of all public affairs, for men trained in the work required of them; we must eliminate the sinecures, cut out the figure-heads, make it impossible for an incompetent, who depends upon deputies to do his work, to hold a place in the public service. And this I say, is as much in the interest of public morals, as in the interest of economy and efficiency. I believe public sentiment in Kansas is ripe for this step forward, and that the people of Kansas will be sorely disappointed if a good start in that direction is not made by the legislature convening tomorrow. It may be that some of the reforms most needed in state and county and city government will require changes in the state constitution, but this should not deter us. The time probably is close at hand when the needs of this progressive people will make imperative a constitutional convention for a general revision of the organic laws of the state. The chief objection to such a convention that has been urged in the past no longer exists; prohibition of the liquor traffic is a fundamental of Kansas government which nothing can overthrow, it will always remain an integral part of the Kansas law and of the Kansas religion. But Kansas does not and Kansas never will consider the liquor question settled until Kansas prohibition has driven the last saloon from the nation. And that won't be long.

Build Up Common Schools.

Kansas needs better and greater school facilities, especially in the rural districts. Much as we boast of our pros-

perity and our progressive spirit, we are not keeping pace here with many sister states. Too many of our boys and girls leave the common school with only a smattering of the rudiments of education. I believe with all thinking men that the common schools of America are the very basis of our national existence. Modern civilization has made life strenuous and complex. Competition is keener and fiercer. The youth who enters upon it without adequate training, vocational as well as intellectual, will find life hard indeed. I don't want this to happen to any Kansas boy.

Free School Text Books.

I want to see in Kansas more democracy in education; more of the training of hand and mind and heart that will equip the average boy and girl for the everyday work of human life. I want to see free text books for every boy and girl in the schools of Kansas. I believe in the higher education: Kansas must keep her university and other state schools in the front rank; their rapidly increasing student body is a credit to the state; we should be sadly remiss in our duty if we hampered or retarded their growth or impaired their efficiency. But first of all our common school system must be made adequate to the proper training for life of every youth of school age in Kansas. It is the state's most important duty. Our whole future hangs upon it. And it is a fundamental principle of democracy. Take care of the youth of the land and the geniuses will take care of themselves. The world needs scholars and philosophers and scientists and poets and artists—Kansas will produce her share of them all—but more than that the world needs millions of alert, wide-awake, clear-thinking, right-living men and women who live the common life and do the world's work and keep civilization from degenerating. Kansas must produce these useful citizens first! The common

school is our nursery for citizens. It makes or it breaks the future of our boys and girls.

Kansas Needs Good Roads.

Next to the improvement of the common schools the greatest need of rural Kansas is better public highways. Good roads are not merely a product of civilization; they are civilizers. I need not dwell upon the economic aspect of this question; it is well understood. We are ready for a comprehensive and practical system of road-making and maintenance in Kansas. This calls for a complete revision of our antiquated methods of road taxes and upkeep. Our present plan is enormously wasteful. In the day when a day's journey was a few miles, roads may have been a local question. Today they are more than that. Motor transportation of products is a rapidly coming development, and no state needs it more than Kansas, which suffers great losses annually from car shortage. This phase of road-making applies chiefly to trunk line roads and roads to market towns. In the main a better system of dragging roads will work wonders. We are spending millions on Kansas roads uselessly. In this respect we are good roads spendthrifts. We should learn how to use the money before greatly increasing this amount.

Industrial Development.

Kansas is and always will be an agricultural state; but this need not interfere in the least with the development within our borders of industries which will supply our own people, at least, with many of the commodities of ordinary use. It is bad economy and poor business for us to ship our raw products 500 or 1,000 miles to be converted into finished products to be shipped back to us. Kansas needs more manufactories; to give employment to our labor; to create a home market for our farmers; to increase our wealth and to help support public work. Kansas goods for Kansas

people would keep Kansas money in Kansas pockets. There is probably little that the state can do officially at the present time to promote our industrial development; what your representatives here in Topeka can do should be done; but the initiative must come from the people of the state, manifested in a livelier interest and a willingness to invest in and encourage and patronize manufacturing enterprises suited to Kansas conditions. Let our slogan be: Kansas goods for Kansas people.

Honest Receiverships for Utilities.

In the last year the payment of fees aggregating nearly one-third of a million dollars to the receivers and attorneys in the Kansas Natural gas case, directed public attention anew to a form of graft too long tolerated. With the sanction of courts, enormous sums of money out of all proportion to the services rendered, were paid to a score of lawyers. One was a state official sworn to safeguard the interests of the state and its people. Stripped of all legal pretense and high-sounding, mealy-mouthed verbiage, it was a plain case of robbing the people in the name of the law, for in the end the people will pay every cent of the tribute. It was piracy worthy of the black flag. I consider highway robbery more respectable and less dishonorable.

I am in favor of placing in the hands of the public utilities commission the power of appointing receivers for all public utilities which become insolvent or which fail to render the service for which they were created—just as the appointing of receivers for insolvent banks is now in the hands of the state bank commissioner. The receiver appointed should be a person thoroly competent, and his compensation or salary should be limited to a sum in keeping with that paid by similar companies in the ordinary conduct of their business. I shall urge the legislature to enact such a law as the only means of putting an end to a species of plunder that has become a scandal to the courts and the state, resulting not only in a wicked waste of money, but

what is worse, in lowering the tone of public morals. It is always the indirect results of graft in high places that are most pernicious in their influence upon the community.

Keep Up Fight for Prohibition.

Kansas may, with all modesty, I think, lay claim to elements of leadership in many political reforms and in many humanitarian movements but nothing that Kansas has done, not even the heroic part she played in the great struggle for human liberty in the '60s, has added so greatly to the sum total of human happiness as her vigorous espousal of the cause of prohibition of the liquor traffic. In the long struggle for prohibition extending over a generation, Kansas has been the leader, the inspiration, the beacon of hope. In the campaign of 1916, when prohibition was an issue in twelve states and one territory, Kansas played a most important part. And now when nation-wide prohibition is in sight, the battle nearly won, when this iniquitous traffic is making its last stand, Kansas must do still more to hasten the day when the sale and manufacture of intoxicants shall forever be prohibited and the nation be purged of this plague and sore. America is ready for it. I believe we shall see a sober nation without a groggery, a brewery or a distillery within its borders. Until that happy day dawns, Kansas must protest unceasingly against the nefarious partnership of the federal government with the infamous traffic. It is intolerable that the United States government should arbitrarily override and defy the sovereignty of the commonwealths which have prohibition laws. The federal government ignores the laws of our state and for a consideration grants licenses to men to conduct in Kansas a business which our state statutes have outlawed. Indirectly, it is aiding and abetting violations of our state laws—conniving with bootleggers and outlaws in defeating the will of our own people. Moreover, the government says in effect to Kansas, "No matter what your people may think of this evil; no matter how you may legislate against it, you shall

not prohibit shipment of the stuff into your borders, and Washington will license bootleggers to sell the damnable stuff." The government manifests more concern to observe comity between itself and other nations than between itself and the several states. I appeal to you, my friends, individually, to take up this protest against setting our laws at naught.

Predicts National Suffrage.

Kansas people may assist, too, in another great reform that is making rapid headway in the nation, and that is national suffrage for women. Our influence should be exerted to bring about equal suffrage in every state in the Union; the highest considerations of the public welfare demand it. In Kansas, as in other states, woman's influence has been on the side of legislation for clean government. She has exercised her right of franchise with intelligence and independence, and it is inconceivable that the nation should much longer deny her what is unquestionably her right.

Support League for Peace.

It is impossible for us to realize the appalling suffering and sorrow that has come upon Europe. As the records of battles grow longer, as the carnage increases, day after day and month after month, our sensibilities become blunted. Still, my friends, even if it were possible for us to close our eyes entirely to Europe's woe and to harden our hearts against its supreme distress and need—war is a very real thing to us. As long as war exists; as long as nations deliberately plan for this barbarous method of settling their disputes, as long as men put their trust in might instead of right, so long will the danger of war brood like a foul bird of prey over this land and over every land.

We hear much of the necessary preparation to meet the economic crisis which threatens America at the close of the European conflict. And this is well. We must give thought

to the welfare and prosperity of our people. We must see that our trade is not ruined; that our labor is not idle; that our capital is not unemployed. But of how much greater consequence is it that we see to it this awful thing shall be no more! How much more important is it that mankind shall rise up and say to its rulers, to its parliament, to its congresses; "There shall be no more war!"

The millions of men—the flower of the Twentieth Century—who died—were victims of the mad folly of insane rulers, drunk with power! When shall such colossal wickedness be made impossible?

America—Kansas—has no higher duty than to join with the sober-thinking men of all nations, in a world-wide movement to make future wars impossible. It may not come within the province of your state government to participate officially in this movement, but as your governor I appeal to you to join actively in the movement, to take it close to your hearts, to make it a part of your personal duty to humanity. I believe of the several plans proposed, the League of Nations to Enforce Peace, headed by former President Taft, while not as yet perfected in all details, to be the most feasible and practical. Every man who loves his country; every man who loves humanity, ought to affiliate himself with the movement. I hope to see Kansas do her full part in this epoch-making work.

The Real Americanism.

I believe the public conscience has been awakened, and that we have been baptized with a new patriotism—an exalted Americanism, that is keenly and intelligently practical and will not be denied. It is demanding and gradually obtaining a schooling for boys and girls that annually will not turn great masses of them adrift without knowledge that will make them capable and self-supporting. It is insisting that drink and prostitution, the great twin scourge of humanity, shall not be permitted to ruin America. It is urging living wages, wholesome homes and happy family

life for all its workers. It is insisting on prompt and ready justice for the poor litigant and the rich litigant. It is demanding simpler forms of government, administered by trained experts rather than by seat-warmers and hangers-on. It is insisting upon laws so drawn that they discourage rather than encourage litigation. It is compelling the honest, efficient and economical expenditure of public funds for the benefit of all the people, and it is demanding its public servants shall know their work and do it faithfully, loyally, industriously and well, while serving one and only one master.

This I believe to be the Kansas ideal—the American ideal. We cannot expect to attain it at one bound. Precedent is stubborn, and change is frightful to timid souls. But the great mass of our people are moving forward, slowly but surely, with a deeper appreciation of justice, of fair dealing, of that broad brotherly love which is the only foundation of a Christian democracy.

FAREWELL ADDRESS.

Delivered in Representative Hall, the State Capitol, Topeka, Kan., on the Occasion of Governor Capper Turning Over the Office to His Successor, Hon. Henry J. Allen, of Wichita, January 7, 1919.

* We have met here today to induct into office the public servants to whom the people of Kansas have entrusted the affairs of state for the next two years. It is a grave responsibility we lay upon them. The whole fabric of the social order in a large portion of the earth is being torn apart and made over. Measures of fundamental and mighty significance confront every government in both hemispheres. While Kansas will not be called upon to grapple directly with world problems, she cannot expect to escape, even in affairs of the most local nature, the influence of the mighty currents of the changing order. Altho Kansas has not been

over-run by contending armies; altho our cities and farmsteads have not been desolated by charge and counter-charge; while it is our hearts alone that have been torn by war, we, too, have our work of reconstruction. Politically and economically we must readjust ourselves to the new world which will rise from the holocaust. And we can hardly be Kansans, true to the genius of our race, if we neglect or fail to have a part—so far as human agencies may go—in shaping that new world.

We have just closed the most momentous year of modern history. It has fallen to us of this generation to bring to an end the autocratic rule of might, and to make possible the reign of Liberty and right thruout the earth. In this great drama which we fondly believe marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the race, Kansas has had the privilege of playing a part in full keeping with her resources of men and means. We have given freely and loyally of our sons and our wealth.

More than 81,000 men from Kansas have served with the colors and over 4,000 of them have made the supreme sacrifice. We have lent to the government and contributed as a free-will offering to the several war activities more than 210 million dollars. But of deeper significance has been the fervor and patriotic zeal Kansas has shown; the forgetfulness of self and the subordination of personal interests; the alacrity and the unanimity with which the state has responded to every call; the high determination to make every sacrifice needed to attain our great end. "Our lives and our fortunes" have truly been placed upon the altar of our country. Kansas misunderstood, misrepresented, even villified before the day of actual conflict, has no apology to make to the world for her attitude or conduct during these stirring days. She did not falter in the time of trial.

The men who fought our battles for us, those who went overseas, and those in camps on this side, chafing under the routine of drill, impatient "to get into the big game,"

are already returning to us and their accustomed places in our community. I know my Kansas well enough to know the welcome you will give them. I know the appreciative reception that awaits them. And I am certain that the most of them will come back with higher ideals, with a broader vision, with a greater love of country and keener appreciation of duties of citizenship. Woe to us if we fail to keep alive that spirit of service, in them and in ourselves, which this war has engendered. On them will fall the burden of responsibility for the state's well-being in the next quarter century. They come back to take up the world's work in Kansas; our government, our schools, our business, our press, our churches will be largely what they make them. If they have sensed the import of the struggle in which they have engaged as I believe they have; if they come back with the idealism of true democracy; if they are imbued with the spirit of service; if they have caught a glimpse of the meaning of the brotherhood of man, God help us, if we are not ready to join hands with them in a program that looks to a fuller life under happier conditions.

The epidemic of Bolshevism, spreading so rapidly in Europe, carries a warning for America. It is the outgrowth of despair, the politics of hysteria. It is a disease certain to appear whenever conditions become unbearable. The morals of the nation break down and the people run amuck in a blind effort to redress their wrongs. It is mob rule; government without steering wheel or rudder. This dangerous state of mind is highly contagious; it is not impossible for America to contract the disease. We know that the spirit of unrest, the chafing under the impositions of injustice, is not confined to the struggling masses of Europe. We know that a world which has fought as never men fought before, to overthrow hereditary privilege will not for long brook injustice at the hand of other privilege wrested from the hands of the people. We know that a world which has crushed a conscienceless Junkerism will not endure a conscienceless monopoly. We know that a

world which revolted at autocracy, will eventually overthrow a money-made aristocracy. We know that the world has fought to establish democracy among the people of the earth, and all the Bourbons and Tories in creation shall not avail against them. The best, indeed, the only preventive of radical socialism and the anarchy of Bolshevism is to remove the contributive causes. We must so shape our program of reconstruction that those who have fought for democracy and those who have so valiantly worked at home in support of our cause, shall never feel that they have striven in vain. The man who works with his hands, the struggling farmer and shop keeper, the mechanic and tradesman, must all be able to see that this has become a better world, and we a happier nation because of our sacrifices and our stand for right and justice. No American must ever have cause to feel that Big Business or the politicians have been the only beneficiaries of the Great War.

This is not the time nor the occasion for a discussion of the details of our program of reconstruction. More than 3¾ millions enlisted men and officers, and other millions of workers in war industries must speedily be reabsorbed into our ordinary business and trade and professions. And millions of women engaged in unusual occupations at unusual wages must be taken into the calculation. New trade relations must be established with every nation. Tariffs and duties must be adjusted. Unoccupied land whether held by the government or by land speculators, must be opened to settlement, improved and occupied. Arid regions must be irrigated; and vast swamps and marshes drained and reclaimed. The universal use of the automobile and the motor truck makes imperative a long delayed system of highway construction. The public school, ever regarded as the bulwark of our liberties "the cheap defense of the nation," must be broadened and strengthened and made more efficient; not only must illiteracy be wiped out, but the training given must be carried to greater length and every youth of the land made fit for a life of useful en-

deavor. And the English language must be made the basis of our education, in both public and private schools.

The flotsam and jetsam of society, the criminals and degenerates, the morally and mentally unfit, almost universally spring from one or two conditions or a combination of both; abject poverty or drunkenness. I have unbounded faith in an early banishment of booze from the United States; in the triumph of that fond dream of Kansas, national prohibition. But immeasurably blessed as that consummation will be, no sane prohibitionist thinks it a panacea for all the social and economic ills of the nation. If the faces of the poor are ground, if life for the "common people," the hewers of wood and drawers of water, is made unbearable thru greed and injustice, poverty and slum-life will still exist; and where there is hopeless, sodden poverty with bad environment and squalid living conditions, there is certain to be crime. The wealth that America has produced in the last 50 years has excited the wonder and envy of the world. But our big enterprises have too often been reared at the expense of the life's blood of the people. We have reared magnificent palaces and surrounded them by hovels. Destructive, short-sighted, sordid, conscienceless greed for big profits and high dividends has led to an organized exploitation of this country which has resulted in living conditions for vast masses of people that could not fail to impair the physical, mental and moral health of the nation. This must stop—stop now. Insatiate greed must be curbed. The producers of the nation must be given their full opportunity for "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

That, my fellow citizens, must be the American program to which every one of us must devote himself unselfishly or with a wiser farther-seeing selfishness. It is a program of the sort of democracy for which the world has just so great a price. It can be bought no other way. And, after all, there is nothing revolutionary about it; it is simply plain, straight-forward, Declaration-of-Independence American-

ism—the rock upon which this nation is founded. That must be the test applied from this day forward to every measure of reconstruction; on that we must build for the future. If we hew to the line all will go well.

It is a new birth the nation will undergo; it is a new America that we shall create in the next decade. And woe betide us if, thru timid fear, thru incompetency, thru selfish partisanship, thru greed or class interest, we fail to meet the issues in a way that benefits America and her destiny. To do that will be to sow the wind and reap the whirlwind.

The American people are ready to make this vision real. How nearly we shall attain it depends upon the vision, the courage, the wisdom of the men to whom you entrust the shaping of governmental policies. I know that the minds and the hearts of the Kansas people are in tune with these living principles.

After four years in public office, in closer contact with the people of my native state than ever before, I leave the executive office today with greater pride in my state, more intense love for my country and a broader, deeper faith in humanity. And now that you have sent me to "the Ex-Governor's Club" at the National Capitol, I want to assure you that I shall endeavor with all my heart to help shape such a program as will bring the blessings of peace and prosperity to a happy, united people. I shall, I trust, ever speak the Kansas language, and hold fast to Kansas ideals. I know of no way in which I can be of greater service to my native state, to the nation and to my generation.

It is not out of place, indeed, I should be strangely lacking if I did not take this occasion to express to the people of Kansas the grateful appreciation I feel because of their generous encouragement and the faith they have shown in me and in the principles I have espoused. I have endeavored during my four years tenure as governor to stand for that which is best and highest in the Kansas ideal of government and society; to be truly representative of the Kansas spirit; proving all things, holding fast to that which

is good, but ever looking ahead and moving forward to better things and happier conditions. I believe we have made some progress in those four years. We have not gone far. The distance traversed seems pitifully short when we contemplate all that is yet to be accomplished; but what progress we have made is due to the alert spirit of the Kansas people; to their ready response to the call of ideals and determination to realize them; to their basically sound sense, to their strong purpose to go forward. I count myself the most fortunate of men that I have been in accord with a people so loyal to their ideals, so true to their faith.

And I am happy in my knowledge that my successor in this office is as thoro a Jayhawker as I dare to be. With voice—the most eloquent in Kansas—and with pen that laughs at folly and scorches injustice, he has fought the good fight for Kansas ideals, and comes to you with a constructive program which I know will merit and receive your hearty support. I hope he may have at your hands the same manifestation of faith, the same co-operation, the same fair treatment that you have given me in such generous measure. You made him governor when his back was turned. You put this responsibility on him when he wasn't looking.

With greater pleasure than I can find words for, I introduce to you—who know him so well—Henry J. Allen, late Y man in France, the 23d governor of the state of Kansas.

MESSAGES TO THE LEGISLATURE.

Governor Capper's Message to the First Legislature During His Administration, January 12, 1915.

Gentlemen of the Legislature:

According to custom and the provisions of the Constitution of Kansas, I submit these suggestions and recommendations upon those public matters which seem to me of immediate concern.

You have met to provide for a more expeditious conduct of public business; to make such changes in the statutes as time, experience and ever-changing conditions may indicate are required; to enact such new legislation as the needs of the people demand. I am sure every member of both houses fully appreciates this responsibility. I hope I may be pardoned if in my zeal to do my part I remind you individually that although you owe a duty to the district which you represent, your higher duty is to all the people of Kansas. The pressure of special interests, the demands of special sections of the state, the needs of friends, all must be subordinated to the good of the people as a whole. We are not here to legislate for any section, nor for any political party, but for the whole state, and "log rolling" and "swapping votes" and "playing politics" must have no place in our program. Nor should our time be frittered away in unimportant local legislation in which the great body of the people have no interest. We must be sure that our appropriation bills are free from the taint of the "pork barrel." I urge both houses to adopt the rule that no member of the legislature from a district in which there is a state institution shall be made a member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Kansas is ripe for a constructive legislative program. The state is happily free from bitter partisan strife; no one

question of overshadowing importance divides us. We have an exceptional opportunity of giving to the problems which shall come before us the unbiased and non-partisan deliberation which should precede all legislation; of studying the needs of the state; of investigating the evils and abuses of our political system; of weighing the new demands of a new age; of giving the people of Kansas our most honest and conscientious and efficient service.

This does not imply the enactment of a great number of laws. It is recognized that the tendency of our day is toward too much legislation—too many ill-advised, useless, contradictory and ambiguous laws, inevitably breeders of misunderstanding, strife and litigation. Your effort should be to simplify existing laws and to make every new enactment so simple that the most humble citizen may understand and respect it, so plain and explicit that the most powerful cannot evade it.

Economy Through Efficiency.

Kansas, in common with the other states, has experienced in the last decade an increase in the cost of government and the burdens of taxation, far beyond the increase of population. In 12 years public expenditures have increased 68 per cent in the state; 77 per cent in the county; 153 per cent in the city; 119 per cent in the township; 132 per cent for schools. While most of this increase has been for local purposes (the state taxes being only \$3,371,998 out of a total of \$29,483,883 for the last tax year), the state should set an example of economy. It should keep down appropriations to the very limit consistent with imperative demands. This is simply exercising the prudence that business men generally are practicing at this time. The increase in state expenditures is due partly to the enlarged functions of government, made necessary by new industrial conditions, by the establishing of new and needed state institutions, and by the increased cost of the necessities of life in the markets of the world. But a belief is growing in Kan-

sas, as elsewhere, that the business methods of the state and county governments have not kept step with the best methods of the day; that they are neither the most efficient nor the most economical. Kansas must rearrange and readjust its entire system of administration on a more scientific basis. Needless duplication of effort must be eliminated, responsibility be concentrated and different departments be co-ordinated. To do this, in my opinion, cannot fail to increase efficiency and to diminish cost—to give the people much better service for less money.

In recent years the state has devoted much energy to regulating private or semi-public business, with beneficial results. It should now reorganize and regulate its own business.

An All-State Efficiency and Economy Committee.

I recommend and urge upon the legislature that it appoint immediately a joint committee on efficiency and economy. After a thorough analysis of the present organization of the state, county and township governments in Kansas, a study of what other states—notably Minnesota and Iowa—are doing to increase and concentrate the responsibility of officials, to make their responsibility to the people more direct and to produce greater unity of action among the different departments of government, I hope this committee will present for the consideration of the legislature at this session, a plan of reorganization which shall abolish needless offices, boards and commissions, concentrate and center responsibilities, eliminate duplication of authority and reduce the public business to a compact and smoothly working unit. This legislature has many members with wide experience in public affairs. I am convinced they can devise a plan in keeping with modern business systems, which ultimately will not only save money for the taxpayers of the state, but will greatly increase and strengthen the efficiency of our government, bring men of highest grade and greatest ability into the public service,

and relieve the public of the annoyance, expense and delay of unnecessary red tape.

The committee should have the power to call to its aid such expert advice as it may require, and should invite the suggestions of business men and other citizens.

Combine or Abolish Boards.

I have no wish to define the scope of this committee's work, but I do desire to suggest that in my opinion the consolidating of many state boards, commissions and offices can be effected with improvement rather than detriment to the public business.

The state inspection system should be overhauled thoroughly. Recently, the state auditor learned that six different state inspectors had been in the same little town on the same day, doing work that one inspector probably could have done equally well.

The State Board of Irrigation should be immediately abolished. It is an absolute waste of the state's money to continue its existence. The work can easily be done by the present staff of the agricultural college.

The judicial districts of the state may be reduced greatly in number without impairing the service of the courts or increasing the law's delay.

The Board of Corrections can be abolished, and its duties performed by the Board of Control.

The offices of hotel commissioner, two members of the State Barber Board, and oil inspector can all be abolished and their work done by existing employes in other departments.

Several state offices, the duties of which are purely administrative or clerical, such as the superintendent of insurance, state printer, superintendent of public instruction, and possibly others, should, I believe, be made appointive instead of elective, in the interest of concentrating responsibility.

County government can be simplified greatly by reorganizing and consolidating some of the offices, making others

appointive, and reducing salaries in keeping with the salaries paid by private business for the performance of similar duties.

I do not consider a constitutional convention necessary to accomplish these reforms. Most of these changes can be made under our present constitution; where they cannot, an amendment should be submitted to the people reducing the number of elective state offices and providing for four-year terms with the power of recall at any time.

State and County Merit System.

Any plan of administration which contemplates a concentrating of responsibility is open to the dangers which follow the creation of a bureaucracy. But these dangers may be avoided by strengthening the merit system and extending it to all branches of state and county government. We now have a civil service law applying to a few state institutions; but the weakness of this law is apparent when we see how recklessly it has been disregarded and violated. We will never attain an efficient nor economic government until offices large and small are removed from the hands of spoilsmen. I urge the enactment of a civil service law so explicit and so strong that no partisan official will dare evade it, basing all rewards, promotions and salaries solely on merit, on loyalty and industry in the public service.

Public Welfare.

The conservation of human life and human resources is every year assuming a larger and larger place in American ideals of government. We are realizing that human life is the chief asset of the state; and we are using our governmental machinery more and more, not only to maintain but also to increase and better the conditions of life and health and the social well-being of the people. We have learned already that if we are to perpetuate the state, we must not only produce citizens, but good citizens—men and women of sound bodies, clear minds and clean souls. We now consider as fundamental economic functions of the state, many duties

that were left a generation ago to chance. And this change in our attitude toward the life and health of the individual is not sentimental nor entirely humanitarian in its source; it is based on the soundest economic principles.

No question which will come before you can be of more vital or far-reaching import than those problems which we have come to group under the general head of public welfare. It is our duty to see that our future citizens are well born; that they are properly nourished, and are reared in that environment most likely to develop in them their full capacity and powers. It is our duty to them, from motives of humanity, to "give them a chance in life"; it is our duty to the state, from an economic motive, to develop them into good and useful citizens for the state.

This is all the more apparent when we consider the loss to Kansas in the preventable deaths of infants; the expense to the state of the child rendered delinquent through preventable disease, or the loss to the state through sub-normal, ill-formed, or badly nurtured children that cannot be developed into the highest type of citizen.

Needed Welfare Measures.

To promote a higher type of citizenship, to insure to every child born in Kansas a record of birth, an equal share in the paternal care of the government and a recognition of its potential worth as a future citizen, I recommend the establishment of a division of child hygiene as a part of the State Board of Health. This new division should take into account the circularizing of the expectant mother who applies for information, the care of the new-born babe, and the well-being, health and nurture of the growing child.

In the same general line of public welfare, I recommend the enactment of laws on the following subjects:

1. To assist needy and worthy mothers by a compensation which shall enable them to care for dependent minor children at home instead of their being cared for in institutions.

2. To designate certain existing officials to comprise and act as an industrial welfare committee, with power to establish and enforce wage schedules and to regulate the hours of women and minors in industry.

3. To provide for the paying of convicts' earnings to their dependent families, after a sufficient sum is deducted for the convict's maintenance.

4. To give organized labor the right to select the officers of the State Labor Bureau.

5. To help solve the problem of the unemployed by extending the activities of the free employment bureau.

6. To strengthen the workmen's compensation act for the better protection of the workers.

7. To promote the safety and safeguard the interests of railroad men and the traveling public.

8. To compel employers to report promptly to the labor department all accidents occurring in factories or mines.

9. To make child desertion by either father or mother a crime.

10. To broaden the \$200 tax exemption law by removing the discrimination against certain classes of women.

11. To authorize cities of the first and second class to establish public loan institutions, that the loan shark evil may be abated.

Stronger Rural Schools.

Only 5 per cent of the boys and girls of Kansas ever go to college. For the 95 per cent whose only means of schooling is the district or the city school, we must provide what we are not now providing, an education that will better fit them for the struggle of life. We have nothing more important to consider than the teaching, the courses of study and the welfare of these primary schools and high schools. And it is vastly important that the farmers' children be as well provided for as the children of the towns and cities. We spend more than a million dollars a year on our colleges and university, and it is money well spent; but we must have education that fits not the few but the many for

the business of life. Absolute thoroughness in the common, fundamental branches is necessary. A boy or girl who has gone through the eight grades should possess a complete, practical education and should have received special training in some specific line of work, fitting him or her to earn a livelihood. Vocational work should be done in all the schools beginning with the fifth grade. Wherever conditions favor it, the establishing of a consolidated school or of a township high school is worthy of much consideration. We should provide for and encourage a wider use of school plants, making of them educational and social centers for all the people throughout the year.

I believe that the office of state superintendent of public instruction, as well as that of county superintendent, should be removed entirely from politics.

An institution which supplements the work of the public schools and reaches every remote farmhouse in the state is the Kansas Traveling Library. In the last two years it has sent out a total of 61,250 books, reaching, it is estimated, 300,000 persons. I recommend that ample funds for a continuation of its good work be provided.

Free Textbooks for Schools.

All schoolbooks should be supplied to the children of Kansas free of cost. I recommend compulsory district and municipal ownership of such books. Twenty-one states now follow this plan successfully. I also favor a law, properly safeguarded, providing for the use of supplementary books.

I am convinced the state can publish the textbooks needed for use in the common schools at a material saving to the people. During the last two years the state printing plant has been enlarged with this purpose in view. So far only three books have been issued. It is, of course, physically impossible for the state to undertake, during the next two years, the publishing of all the books to be required in the public schools of all grades. I therefore recommend that an appropriation be made sufficient to print such books within

the present capacity of the printing plant, as, in the judgment of the School Book Commission, are most immediately needed.

Rural Credit Associations.

Farming is our biggest business in Kansas. Our prosperity, our progress, our very existence depend on it. It is a business in great need of financial relief. The farmers in Kansas are sorely in need of a credit system meeting their special requirements, that they may more readily obtain money on short or long time for their farming operations, or that they may become owners of farms. Our present system of credit is based on business as conducted in cities, where capital is turned quickly. In New York, Ohio, and in other states, this need has been met by legislation providing for rural loan and savings associations similar to the building and loan associations in the cities. We should make it possible in Kansas for our numerous building and loan associations to extend their services to farmers under a law which also will encourage and permit rural communities to organize co-operative loan associations to be under the supervision of the state banking department. New York state has a very comprehensive law of this kind.

Co-operative Societies.

The necessity for better organized farm industry in the United States is now generally regarded as urgent. Kansas has no adequate law encouraging and providing for the formation of farmer co-operative societies such as exist in the states of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska and Iowa. As we live in one of the foremost agricultural states, we should not be backward in providing every condition which will aid our greatest industry.

Abolish Nominating Petitions.

Several amendments should be made to the primary and general election laws to improve them, but such changes must in no way interfere with a full and free expression of

the people's choice in naming the candidates to be voted on at general elections. The direct primary law of Kansas has become a part of our political system and our efforts should be to simplify it, to render it more direct, rather than to weaken or discredit it.

I suggest that the law be modified to eliminate nomination petitions, substituting therefor a small entrance fee. The names of judicial candidates at the primary should be printed upon each party ballot and not upon a separate ballot, that there may be a fuller expression of choice. Campaign expenditures should be limited to a reasonable sum commensurate with the salary of the office, so that a poor man may have the same opportunity as a rich man. Smoking in polling places should be prohibited. Two sets of judges and clerks of election should be provided for every congested precinct.

Improvement of Roads.

I am unreservedly in favor of the improvement of public highways. The framers of our constitution conferred this work on the counties. Until the people, by amendment, change the constitution, I urge that the counties co-operate with one another, that future road work be more uniform, and done in such a way that it will result in connected and continuous highways. I recommend such amendments be made to the present law.

We have found the best and cheapest road in Kansas is the dragged road. When the work is done at the right time the expense and labor of keeping it up is small. A well-organized drag system will do more to give any Kansas county fine roads than the expenditure of a much greater amount of money in building and maintaining a single highway. The highways will come, but good community roads are our first need.

Welcome Europe's Farm Workers.

Following the war in Europe a large increase of European immigration to the United States is to be expected, of

which the largest part is and always has been made up of men skilled in farming. The farming interests of the United States may then obtain the better class of these immigrants, provided measures are taken to attract them before they are dispersed to the manufacturing districts, for which they are poorly fitted. These immigrants will come here with their faith in American ideals made stronger than ever by the failure of the European system of government and diplomacy. They are a high type of farm workers. Kansas needs just such trained farm hands and farm tenants, and it will be wise to prepare to obtain our share of the most desirable of these immigrants. This can be done by attaching to one of the existing bureaus or departments of state an immigration agency that will keep in touch with the demand for such labor in the state and will supply printed matter, setting forth the attractions and opportunities Kansas has to offer to the farm workers of Europe.

Remodel the Prison with Convict Labor.

A non-partisan committee of experts was appointed under my predecessor to examine the penitentiary buildings and make recommendations for their improvement. This commission has recommended that the penitentiary plant be remodeled and enlarged. I ask you to give its recommendation most careful attention. It is pointed out that the greater part of the raw materials for reconstruction is to be found on state property; that prison labor can be used for nearly all the work of construction, excepting the skilled superintendence; that we can use all of the old plant which has value; that we can construct what will be virtually a new penitentiary at a minimum of cost, and that a large number of prisoners, now unskilled men, can be trained to become skilled artisans, which will more than double their earning power after their release. The present penitentiary was built a unit at a time with no definite plan. With the exception of the twine plant, it is in a dilapidated condition. It has been outgrown entirely by the advanced reformatory methods now approved by the

best sentiment in the state and the best known criminologists. I do not regard it as advisable to make a large expenditure at this time; however, I recommend that a reasonable appropriation be made to begin the work.

Abolish the Fee System.

The fee system of compensation for public services opens the way to abuses which are almost universally condemned. While fees as compensation have been abolished in connection with most public offices, the system still remains in connection with certain state and county offices. I urge the enacting of a law which will abolish the fee system in state and county governments, as now conducted, and specifically providing that all fees of whatsoever nature collected by public officials or employes shall be paid into the general revenue fund.

Check Up County Officials.

Our present system of handling county funds is loose, slipshod and utterly unbusinesslike. I recommend a law requiring the county clerk or county auditor to check all county officials at frequent intervals, to check out all outgoing officials and to check in all incoming officials. This is not provided for in our present system of county government.

The states of Ohio and Indiana save a large sum of money annually by their system of uniform accounting in all county offices. I recommend that the state auditor be charged with the duty of prescribing and installing a uniform system of bookkeeping in all counties of Kansas with as little delay as possible.

Change in Banking Laws.

In view of the radical changes recently made in our national currency and banking system by the establishing of the federal reserve banks, I recommend that our state bank-

ing laws be so amended as to enable any state bank which so desires to avail itself of the provisions of the new federal law.

Keep Faith with the People.

I particularly urge that the ways and means committees of each house report the appropriation bills at the earliest practical day, so that they may have careful consideration before the rush of the closing sessions.

I recommend the adopting of the initiative and referendum; an amendment to the utility-commission law prohibiting the use of free railroad passes by members and employes of the commission; the enacting of a presidential primary law; an amendment to the constitution to provide for a verdict in civil cases by three-fourths of the members of a jury; and the strengthening of the "blue-sky" law, so that there may be no question as to its constitutionality.

The attention of the legislature is directed to the disgraceful condition of the state house grounds, and to the lack of a proper system of lighting for the grounds and the capitol itself.

In conclusion I wish to emphasize again the urgent necessity for a policy of strict economy. The suggestions and recommendations I have made do not in any instance call for the creation of new offices nor new boards and commissions, but provide for reducing the number of public officials and increasing the duties and responsibilities of all in the public service. I earnestly appeal to the members of both branches of the legislature to lay aside partisan politics; to show the people that we are not here to make political capital nor campaign thunder; but as true patriots conscientiously to consider every question which comes before us on its true merits in behalf of the best interests of Kansas. I believe this legislature will keep faith with the people.

Respectfully submitted,

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

SECOND MESSAGE.

Governor Capper's Message to the Legislature that Convened January 10, 1917.

Gentlemen of the Legislature:

The Constitution of Kansas directs the governor at the opening of every session of the legislature to communicate in writing such information as he may possess in regard to the condition of the state, and to recommend measures he may consider expedient. I ask you to take the recommendations and suggestions I shall make as expressing my sincere belief of what this legislature can do and ought to do for Kansas, and not as a perfunctory document intended merely for the consumption of the populace.

If this legislature will get down to business this afternoon; keep down to business every day for the next few weeks; restrict the number of its employes to the minimum; refrain from playing politics; eliminate log-rolling; abstain from pork; kick out the grafters; maintain a strict regard for economy; guard against the innocent-looking jokers the lobby will have ready to slip into bills; transact all business in the open; enact the legislation that we have promised the people, but make as few laws as possible; refrain from legislation in behalf of special interests of any sort; straighten out some of the worst tangles of our complicated code; and then adjourn promptly and go home, the people of Kansas will rise up and call you blessed.

The people are not clamoring for a great mass of new legislation. The legislature of 1915 passed 421 new laws—106 in the last 24 hours of the session—a large proportion of them unnecessary, if not positively detrimental. I hope we may set a new mark this year in the expeditious transaction of business and in giving time only to those measures that are really worth while.

I do not mean to imply there is not an abundance of work for this legislature to do; there is work a-plenty—so much that the half of it cannot be done, unless we have the business-like, conscientious session which I hope we shall have.

The Condition of the State.

In a material way, Kansas was never before so prosperous. Our taxable wealth is now \$2,980,894,837. It increased 175 million dollars in the last two years and this does not include 100 million dollars of property belonging to churches, schools, lodges and other public institutions not taxed.

Our taxable per capita wealth is \$1,753. That this wealth is fairly evenly distributed is proved by the public utility companies of the state. They own only one-seventh of the state's total property, while the people own six-sevenths.

Our bank deposits in round numbers aggregate 300 million dollars, an increase of 98 million dollars in two years.

The people of Kansas own 114,323 automobiles, an increase of 63,878 in two years.

Our farm products for 1916 aggregated 350 million dollars and our livestock 325 million dollars, an increase for the two of 25 million dollars in one year.

Our manufactured products during the year, from the best available information, amounted to 350 million dollars, an increase of 25 million dollars.

Our transportation companies never did such a business as in the last year; their facilities were overtaxed in carrying Kansas products.

Kansas is one of the few states of the Union which has no state bonded indebtedness, the last bond having been canceled last year. Our municipal bonds, bearing a low rate of interest, are a prime favorite in the money-markets of the world. Physically and financially. Kansas has every reason for congratulation.

Politically, Kansas happily is free from the more notorious forms of graft and public corruption which at times

have disgraced American commonwealths. Our people are law-abiding, and they demand the faithful performance of duty by their public servants. They have a large conception of the functions of government, and they insist that we who are entrusted with its direction and administration, shall appreciate to the full our duty to the whole people and our responsibility for their welfare. Today they are giving more calm, sane, deliberate attention to government than ever before. No popular furor has excited them; no ism has swept them off their feet; but deep in the consciousness of every thinking man and woman in Kansas is this thought:

We are not doing the best we can do with our problem of self-government. We do not conduct the business of government with the same efficiency that we conduct private affairs. We are more lenient with the shortcomings of public servants than with those of individual employes. We have relied too much upon the Bird o' Freedom, the Star Spangled Banner, political wind-jamming, and campaign buncombe, and not enough upon plain, business sense. Self-government has not failed. But we have not had self-government. We have left government to precedent, and indifference, and red tape, and expediency, and all the other attendants of mismanagement and bad government. And we pay the price in high taxes and poor service.

That, gentlemen, is the Kansas state of mind. The people of Kansas in the last fiscal year paid \$35,788,000 in state and local taxes, an increase of \$1,900,000 over the preceding year. This year they will pay more. This is due partly to the increased cost of every commodity bought by the state and local governments, and partly to the enlarged functions of government which call for greater expenditures for the public welfare, but more than all is due to our antiquated, extravagant business system, which often calls for the expenditure of dollars where dimes would be amply sufficient.

These two things: First, a sane, business-like overhauling and reorganizing of our machinery of government, state

and local, and second, a good start at least in the direction of a more equitable distribution of the burdens of taxation should have your chief attention and best efforts.

Simplified and More Efficient Government.

Kansas has admittedly outgrown our present system of government. It is a hodge-podge; a patch-work; antiquated, cumbersome, wasteful, inefficient; entirely out of keeping with the more scientific systems of business now employed by private concerns and many other states. A multiplicity of boards, commissions, bureaus and departments duplicate the work of one another, divide responsibility which should be concentrated, and by interfering with one another often retard the public business. They increase the cost of government without giving adequate return or efficient service to the public. Some of the defects of which the people complain are embedded in the state constitution, now more than 50 years old. Consequently there has arisen in many quarters an insistent demand for a new constitution. It seems only fair that the people of the state should be given an opportunity of deciding whether they desire the calling of a constitutional convention. The old objection to such a convention—the fear of endangering the prohibitory amendment—no longer exists; and if the people desire now to undertake this important task, they should not be denied.

In case the legislature in its wisdom should decide this to be an inopportune time for the consideration of the question of a constitutional convention, I recommend that an amendment to the constitution be submitted to the people permitting the submission to the people of an indefinite number of amendments at any general election, instead of three only, as the constitution now provides. This will make possible more consistent readjustment of our machinery of government than is possible under the three-amendment proviso.

Consolidation of Boards.

In the meantime, while that issue is pending, there are many changes which this legislature can effect in the interest of greater economy of effort and money. There should be a general consolidation of boards, commissions and offices wherever such consolidating will simplify the machinery of administration and effect economy.

I desire to call your attention to the report of the efficiency and economy commission created by the legislature of 1915, and ask that you give careful consideration to its recommendations, especially its suggestion for consolidating and co-ordinating state bureaus and departments; that the four boards now in charge of the state institutions, namely: The board of administration, the board of control, the board of corrections and the board of managers of soldiers' homes be abolished; and that the state schools, penal institutions, charitable institutions and soldiers' homes be placed under one board, to be appointed by the governor, composed of a director of educational institutions, a director of penal institutions, a director of charitable institutions, a director of soldiers' homes, with the governor ex officio member and chairman, empowered to appoint a business manager and purchasing agent for all state institutions. If this consolidation is made, honorary boards could be provided to counsel and advise with the heads of the educational institutions in regard to policies affecting the welfare and management of the schools.

Our present system, under which a variety of boards receive bids and purchase supplies separately for the various institutions, is neither business-like nor economical. Other states have effected a great saving through creating the position of expert purchasing agent with power to take advantage of market conditions. I am convinced that a high-grade, experienced business man in this position, as business manager and purchasing agent for the four classes of state institutions, will save the people thousands of dollars and at the same time improve the public service.

I also recommend consolidating all departments pertaining to agriculture into a department of agriculture in charge of a commissioner, similar to the plan followed by the national government. It should include the state board of agriculture, the departments of horticulture, livestock, grain inspection, entomology, dairy, stallion registration, feeding stuffs, veterinary, forestry, and possibly others. Not only would this reduce the cost of maintaining these departments, but the benefits resulting from a more closely correlated administration would be many.

I believe departments employing inspectors, such as the health, labor, fire and hotel departments, may by co-operation greatly reduce the expense of state inspection and eliminate many sinecure jobs.

I am heartily in favor of the commission's recommendation that the state tax commission be abolished and its duties placed in the hands of a single officer to be known as the state tax commissioner.

Reduce the Number of Judicial Districts.

The state has too many judicial districts. There is great inequality of business in them. A log-rolling lobby smoothed a bill in the house to reduce the number of districts, after the senate had passed it at the last session. I recommend a similar bill be passed at this session, reducing the number of judges, and empowering the chief justice of the supreme court to transfer judges from one district to another when the work of a court has become congested, thus distributing the work more uniformly. Such a measure will reduce expenses and help in cleaning up cluttered court dockets.

An Executive Budget System.

I recommend adopting the executive budget system of making appropriations, requiring the governor to submit to the legislature a carefully prepared schedule of the financial needs of the state, showing where and why increases, if any, are demanded. Our present haphazard spending of

public moneys inevitably leads to pork-barrel legislation and inequalities and injustices demoralizing to the public service. At the governors' conference in Washington last month the 24 governors present were unanimously of the opinion that this system marks a most important forward step in legislative methods. It is not revolutionary in its effect; it merely introduces system into state expenses. The governor has no more power under it than under the present order; all that the budget plan does is to substitute foresight for hindsight; to substitute a unified coherent plan of distribution of the state's appropriations for a patched and incoherent plan. I earnestly urge the adoption of the Maryland budget system for Kansas with such modification as is necessary to meet any needs peculiar to the state.

Four-Year Term of Office.

I recommend that all terms of office in state and county be made four years with all elective officers subject to recall. The saving in election expenses alone will amount to thousands of dollars, and I believe the service will be greatly improved and that there will be fewer scrambles for public place.

Simplified County Government.

The most extravagant and wasteful branch of government is that of the county in its present form. County taxes have nearly doubled in the last 10 years, increasing from \$4,882,335 in 1906 to \$8,942,736 in 1916. With all our complaint of increased taxation, it seems incredible that no effort has been made by the legislature to curb extravagance at this source, where it is greatest. We have sometimes seemed to begrudge the money required for the maintenance of state institutions, even to the extent of hampering their growth, development and usefulness, when in reality the money required for them is but a small part of the public revenues. We have been saving at the spigot and wasting at the bung hole.

Every county now elects 13 or more county officers, several of which are unnecessary. Commission form of government for the counties is worthy of serious consideration, but it is doubtful if it can be adopted without changing the constitution. In the meantime, a number of county offices can be abolished or combined. For example, the office of register of deeds can easily be dispensed with and its duties given to the county clerk. Legislation in this direction should not take effect earlier than expiration of terms of present incumbents.

The City Manager for Cities.

The citizens of any city in Kansas may safely be trusted to devise and revise the method of their own local government, in accordance with their desires and to meet their peculiar needs, without being compelled to wait the pleasure of a state legislature. I recommend immediate legislation giving the cities of Kansas home rule, empowering them to adopt the city manager plan of government at the ensuing or any April election; such law to be fully guarded against conflict with state laws and interference by the cities with the police powers of the state.

The city manager plan is a great forward step in the direction of better government, and everywhere where it is in operation is producing striking results in the way of economies and better service.

Reform in Receiverships.

The recent scandal caused by the payment of enormous and exorbitant receivers' and attorneys' fees in the case of a bankrupt natural gas company impels me to urge you to enact a law placing in the hands of the public utilities commission the business of all bankrupt public service companies; the commission to appoint the receiver and to have general supervision of the business, in the same manner as the bank commissioner now handles the business of an insolvent state bank. The fees of the receiver and the attorneys employed should be limited by law to a sum in keeping

with those paid in the ordinary conduct of business. Such a measure will put an end to a form of graft that has become a public stench. Every dollar squandered or grafted in such receivership cases finally is paid by the public, and the people are looking to this legislature for the righting of this ancient wrong.

Revenue and Expenditures.

Kansas, in common with the other states of the Union, is disturbed by the rapid increase in taxes affecting every citizen. The solution of this problem should be the first concern of all who are entrusted with raising and expending public funds. The functions of government have so increased; the cost of all commodities used by the state, including labor, has so advanced, that greater revenues are imperative. Consequently increased taxes cannot be avoided. Instead of excusing carelessness or extravagance, this calls for greater care and economy and more scrupulous honesty in the spending of every cent of the people's money.

As indicating the rapidly growing burden of taxation, I beg to direct your attention to the increase from year to year since 1912 in the total taxes levied in Kansas:

Increase in taxes of 1913 over 1912.....	\$1,677,277
Increase in taxes of 1914 over 1913.....	1,504,239
Increase in taxes of 1915 over 1914.....	2,861,445
Increase in taxes of 1916 over 1915.....	1,938,965

Total increase in four years.....\$7,981,926

The taxes of 1912 totaled \$27,806,606. Therefore, the increase in the last four years has been 28.7 per cent.

The increase last year over the year previous was as follows: For state government, 7 per cent; for counties, 21 per cent; for cities, 16 per cent; for townships, 19 per cent; for school districts, 10 per cent.

The state tax levy in Kansas is \$1.30 per \$1,000, with few exceptions a rate lower than other states. That you may know how this \$1.30 is expended let me say that 57 cents of it goes to the support of the state educational institutions;

27 cents to the charitable institutions; 13 cents for prisons and reformatories; 5 cents for homes of soldiers and their widows; and 28 cents for the maintenance of all other state officials, institutions and departments, including the supreme and the district courts, the state printing plant and the legislature. The state all told receives on an average about one-tenth of the total funds raised for all purposes.

For the year 1916, the taxes reported by the county clerks in all of the counties aggregated \$35,788,531.96, an increase of nearly 2 million dollars. The total cost of the state government in 1916 was \$5,484,712. The principal expenditures were:

Educational institutions.....	\$2,179,803.83
Charitable institutions.....	916,673.63
Penal institutions.....	677,391.09
Soldiers' homes.....	142,111.84

It is plainly evident that any genuine attempt at retrenchment in public expense cannot begin and end in economy in the state's business alone. Should you eliminate entirely the expense of state government and all the state institutions, you would reduce the taxpayer's burden only 10 per cent. It is for this reason that the demand grows for greater simplicity and economy in the forms of local government—the places where 90 per cent of the taxes is expended.

But this does not give the state license for extravagance. You must bear in mind that bare maintenance is costing much more today than ever before; the high cost of living is no respecter of state institutions. The state property must be kept in repair; there is no economy in letting it run down and deteriorate. The high price of labor and material may prevent erecting some greatly desired additions, but should not interfere with providing for actual needs. Our state institutions must not be permitted to retrograde.

The Tax-Dodging Evil.

In this connection, I wish to call your attention to the unequal distribution of the burden of taxation, due to the

failure of citizens to report moneys and other intangibles for taxation. The increasing burden of taxation is not equally distributed. It is notorious that hundreds of millions of dollars of personal property held in this state escape taxation altogether. Reputable, high-minded, public-spirited citizens, under the specious plea that "everybody is doing it," withhold from taxation moneys, bonds, securities and other intangibles, leaving the entire burden of taxation to fall upon the holders of real estate, improvements, corporations, livestock, household goods and other properties exposed to the view of the assessor—a condition unjust in itself and demoralizing to the people.

The bank examiner's report shows on deposit in the banks of Kansas 300 million dollars; the assessors last March were able to find only 60 million dollars cash on hand in the state. This discrepancy of 240 million dollars does not by any means represent all the intangible property which escapes taxation. It is but a small part of it. Probably a half billion dollars of personal property is not taxed. Thousands of chattel and real-estate mortgages are assigned in blank for the purpose of evading taxation. For taxation purposes the county records should be made *prima facie* evidence of ownership of the mortgage. The tax-dodging problem is worthy of your best attention.

In connection with the subject of revenues, I again suggest that all fees collected by state departments and state institutions be turned into the general revenue fund of the state treasury. These fees last year amounted to \$1,560,344, and while they were all accounted for, they should in good business practice have been turned into the general fund and appropriated to specific purposes by the legislature, instead of being expended at the discretion of state officials and superintendents of institutions.

Again I urge a uniform system of accounting for the state, the counties and for the municipalities, with an annual audit of these accounts by the state accountant.

I recommend the county clerk be required to take and

keep an invoice of the county's assets, including all uncollected taxes, with an itemized statement and description of the property upon which it is a lien, including the name of the owner. Also to keep a public list of all taxes rebated, the descriptions of the property and the name of the owner, that the public may know how much of the taxes the county officials rebate and how much of the rebates are just.

Extortionate Fees.

I recommend also a general and searching inquiry into the matter of fees in both the state and local courts and in county offices. In partition suits in the district court and in the case of small estates in the probate court, it sometimes happens that before final settlement the fees consume the greater part of the property involved. The administration of justice should not be allowed to bring hardship upon the people, and I hope this legislature will carefully revise the whole fee system.

More Practical Schools.

The last session enacted commendable legislation in the interest of rural schools. It greatly strengthened our school system. Here we are making progress. During the last two years more money was spent for school buildings and school improvements than during any similar period in our history. We now have 29 million dollars invested in common-school property, and last year spent 13 million dollars for educational purposes. But we should not be satisfied, even with that showing. Kansas is a progressive, forward-looking state, and it is especially important and necessary that we shall not fail in any particular in our efforts to give the 400,000 school children of Kansas the best possible educational opportunities. I consider vocational training of especial importance. To that end I ask this legislature to give especial attention to the common schools, that every boy and girl in the state may have the opportunity to acquire a complete, practical education that will give him an equal chance in the world. The work of standardizing schools should be

carried still further. Ampler provision should be made for rural high schools of the practical sort, and tuition in all high schools should be made free for every child in the state. We need better supervision of the schools and greater facilities for teaching agriculture, manual training and domestic science. In the interest of efficient citizenship, every Kansas youth should be fitted by your schools for the practical work of life. I urge a law be passed requiring the completion of the eighth grade by every Kansas child.

Provision should be made whereby the school buildings, especially in the rural districts, may be more generally used for public purposes. They should be made real community centers.

I urge that the office of state superintendent and of county superintendent be entirely removed from politics. I favor a county tax for rural schools instead of a district tax, so that all the schools of the county may be on a par as to equipment and efficiency.

State Publication of Textbooks.

The state publication of textbooks for use in the public schools has proved a success in Kansas and should be encouraged and supported in every possible way. While we have not proceeded in this undertaking with speed—preferring to demonstrate the feasibility of it as we went along—the state textbook commission has already affected a great saving to the people. This year one million books are being published at a saving of \$100,000. The commission has demonstrated its ability to produce textbooks of high standard for less than they can be purchased elsewhere, and means should be provided as rapidly as possible to enable the commission to produce all the textbooks used in the public schools.

I recommend that you enact a law providing for free textbooks in all the public schools, adopting a plan similar to that in Nebraska, the books to be the property of the district.

Better Roads.

Kansas must join other progressive states in road improvement. While the advent of the automobile has emphasized our lack of good roads, the need of them existed before the motor car was invented. It is fundamental. Bad roads shut our chief producers—our farmers—out of markets, and entail enormous expense in reaching them, at a time when prices are highest. Farmers in other states are reaping the benefit of their better roads, and in competition with them our own farmers are seriously handicapped. The worst feature of this situation is that we are now spending enough money in a haphazard way to give Kansas much better roads if our system of building, maintaining and supervising them was more business-like. The whole system of county and township management of roads should be revised and systematized.

I am strongly opposed to more commissions, but to obtain this state's proportion of the federal appropriation for good roads, under the Shackelford act, it seems necessary that the legislature create a state highway commission or highway commissioner to have general supervision of a system of state highways. This can be an honorary commission or can be composed in whole or in part of existing state officers.

I recommend that prison camps be established wherever the highway commission can obtain the co-operation of county authorities, and that prisoners now confined in county jails may be worked upon county roads. Hundreds of prisoners are now committed to county and city jails for minor offenses. Their confinement in idleness is an economic waste. Worse than that, it is demoralizing to character and detrimental to health. These men should be put to work, and the greater part of the year could be utilized in making the improvements now so badly needed upon Kansas highways.

The Prohibitory Laws.

Prohibition prohibits in Kansas, the press agents of the booze-makers to the contrary, notwithstanding. No single

law was ever enacted resulting in greater good to a commonwealth than the prohibitory law of Kansas. Not only has it brought sobriety to our own people, but it has been a potent factor in hastening national prohibition. But until that day comes we need legislation to aid us in preventing the outlawed liquor interests from setting our laws at naught. You will recall that a bill introduced in the last legislature, making the point of delivery in Kansas the place of sale of interstate shipments of liquor, was defeated by the Kansas City liquor interests. Clean out the lobby and pass such a measure at this session. The United States supreme court on the Webb-Kenyon law leaves no doubt as to the validity of such legislation.

To strengthen further our prohibitory law, I ask for a law empowering the governor to suspend from office, upon evidence, any county attorney, mayor, police official or other officer charged with the law enforcement, who fails to perform his duty in compliance with his oath of office.

I also ask that in cases of infraction of the prohibitory laws, city attorneys be given inquisitorial powers, as the county attorneys and attorney-general of the state now have.

I further recommend that Kansas newspapers and periodicals be prohibited from publishing liquor advertisements and the advertisements of liquor dealers and manufacturers, and that the sale and the display for sale by newsdealers and others of all publications carrying such advertisements be likewise prohibited.

I ask this legislature to adopt a memorial petitioning the Congress of the United States to submit to the people of the nation at the earliest possible date, an amendment to the federal constitution prohibiting the manufacture, sale and importation of alcoholic beverages; and in the meantime to enact federal laws which will aid and assist states having prohibitory laws to enforce them.

The High Cost of Living.

The increasing cost of living has become an almost unbearable burden upon the people. It would be well for this

legislature to investigate the meat packers' trust, the creamery and cold-storage business, and all trade conditions in Kansas which give rise to suspicion of combinations or manipulation. There is general recognition by all economists of the abnormal difference between the prices received by producers and the price paid by the ultimate consumer, the result of which is small profits for the farmer and exorbitant prices for the people. As a remedy for this evil, better organization and better methods of marketing are urgently needed. Kansas should encourage, by the necessary laws, the forming of farmer co-operative marketing societies. The state department of agriculture should be empowered to undertake and promote this important work.

Industrial Development.

The manufactured products of Kansas last year equaled in value the products of our farms, exclusive of livestock. But they are confined to a few restricted lines, and the state presents the anomaly of shipping hundreds of carloads of its raw materials hundreds of miles to be converted into finished products and shipped back to us at greatly enhanced prices. Kansas must develop industrially; we need home markets; we need the growth and expansion which come with thriving little towns and cities in which men and women are employed the year round. I recommend that the functions of the state department of labor and industry be enlarged to embrace activities promoting the industrial development of the state, including the gathering of industrial statistics and other information which will enable manufacturers to appreciate the advantages of Kansas as a manufacturing field.

State Oil Department.

The oil and gas industry is developing rapidly in Kansas. The state oil department should be made of real use in its encouragement and aid. It should bear the same relation to the industry in its charge that the department of agriculture bears to agriculture or the banking department

to the business of banking. It should compile statistics and obtain complete information concerning the industry in Kansas and its possibilities of further development. The department should be empowered to conserve the state's supply of oil and gas, preventing the deplorable wastes that now characterize the industry. It should fix standard grades of kerosene and gasoline and a standard of measurement for natural gas. The expense of maintaining the department should be borne by the industries affected. A new law providing for reasonable inspection fees will be necessary.

Flood Prevention.

Following the devastating floods of two years ago, when property valued at millions of dollars was destroyed in Kansas, I called a conference of public officials, representatives of big business interests and other interested citizens, at which ways and means for flood prevention were discussed. It was the sense of this conference that the project was so stupendous that it could be handled successfully only by the state and federal governments working in co-operation. When the matter was brought to the attention of Congress an appropriation was made to defray the expenses of a preliminary investigation, which is now in progress under the direction of the engineering corps of the United States army. I suggest that the legislature, through a concurrent resolution, commend the action of the federal government and memorialize Congress to make such additional appropriations as may be necessary to protect the state from flood losses in future. In order that the state and federal governments may co-operate more easily in the flood prevention work, I suggest that the state drainage engineer at the agricultural college be designated also as state flood engineer.

Making State Institutions Productive.

The purpose of our state institutions is public service—not the producing of revenue. But this purpose is in no

way incompatible with the exercise of economy and a little business sense in the conduct of these institutions. The more nearly our penal and charitable institutions are made self-supporting without impairment of their efficiency the better it is for the state and the state's wards. The state maintains a large farm at each of its charitable and penal institutions, which falls short of its maximum production. I recommend that effort be made to produce upon these farms as large a part as possible of the supplies used by the state institutions. Dairy herds and poultry flocks should be increased, and canneries may be established at several of the institutions with profit to the state; each institution producing that product for which it is best adapted and selling it to the others on a cash basis, thereby getting full credit for what it produces.

The state has in the past been singularly lax in its system of bookkeeping. For example, the state penitentiary annually supplies thousands of dollars' worth of coal to other state institutions without expense to them. As a result, no one has any idea of the relative cost of maintenance.

Prisons and Care of Prisoners.

Two years ago I directed the legislature's attention to the dilapidated condition of the greater part of the state penitentiary at Lansing. Two years' hard usage has not improved this condition. An immediate start at rebuilding the prison should be made. A moderate appropriation would enable the warden, by using prison labor and material, to rebuild on a modern plan the big cell houses, now unsanitary, out-of-date and a reproach to the state. I recommend that this appropriation be made.

I also urge that a careful survey be made of the entire penal system of the state that it may be made to conform more closely to modern ideas of penology. Further effort should be exerted to make our prisons and penitentiary really reformatory.

A great number of the city and county jails of Kansas are a disgrace to the state. I heartily approve the indus-

trial farm colony plan for care of jail prisoners. These men should be kept at work.

Provision should be made for teaching every inmate of our prisons a useful trade so that he or she may have means of self-support upon leaving the institution. I urge, too, that provision be made whereby prisoners of the penitentiary may receive compensation for work done in excess of a reasonable requirement of work for their maintenance. This especially is desirable in case of prisoners with families depending upon them. Often these families suffer greater hardships than the prisoners themselves. But even the man without dependents will feel the incentive to industry and good conduct if he is earning wages and accumulating money with which he may make a new start in life upon his release.

Human Welfare.

The life, health and vigor of the men, women and children of the state are its greatest assets. It is certainly as much the duty of the state to promote the welfare of its citizens as to protect their lives and property. Kansas has been a leader in many phases of welfare legislation; but there is more we can do and must do.

Among measures for general welfare, I especially recommend these:

Only a few counties are observing the law for the payment of a pension to worthy widowed mothers, as provided by the legislature two years ago. The law should be strengthened by requiring each county to provide funds for this purpose.

Children who through the loss of parents or other misfortune become wards of the state or county must be given the greatest possible opportunity for development into Christian manhood and womanhood. The best public institution never can equal or take the place of a home and home-training. I recommend that so far as possible private homes be found for children of the Orphans' Home.

A state detention home for the care of delinquent women and girls over 17 should be established for the purpose of teaching such delinquents some respectable means of earning a livelihood. Society gains nothing by their incarceration if they are turned loose in a few weeks or months with no means of self-support and helpless to cope with the world.

To abate the loan-shark evil, cities of the first and second class should be authorized to establish municipal loan agencies.

The child labor law should be amended to restrict further the age limit and hours of labor of children, especially in hazardous occupations.

The laws governing the employment of women should make such provision for decency, comfort and health as should be given the mothers of the race.

The activities of the state free employment bureau should be widened.

The small debtors' court has enabled many persons of limited means in our larger cities to collect small debts without expensive litigation. These courts should be extended to every county in the state.

The workmen's compensation act should be amended, to reduce to the minimum the possibility and necessity of litigation in personal-injury cases, and a more liberal compensation be provided for. The allowance in Kansas is below the average of other states having workmen's compensation acts.

The mining laws should be revised and codified; inspection should be extended to include supervision and inspection of gypsum, salt, lead and zinc mines. Absolute sanitary conditions should be maintained. The state mine-inspecting department should be given better facilities for its work, especially in first aid rescue equipment. I hope to see the legislature work out a plan that will give ample protection to families of miners who lose their lives in mine disasters. Legislation also should be passed making all scrip issued by mining companies, or other employers, re-

deemable at its face value at the pay day following its issuance.

The people of Kansas recognize the value and necessity of effective censorship of moving pictures. However, the present manner of censorship and appeal has not proved satisfactory, and has been a source of great annoyance to the appeal board, illogically composed of the governor, the secretary of state and the attorney-general. It is ridiculous that these three busy officials should be called upon daily to drop the important work of the state in order to pass upon the pictured antics of a buffoon or the hair-raising episodes of a blood-and-thunder story. I recommend this provision of the law be changed.

Three-Fourths Jury Verdict.

I recommend an amendment to the constitution to provide for a verdict in civil cases by three-fourths of the members of a jury.

The Civil Service.

The state of Kansas must take no backward step in its merit system. Politics has absolutely been eliminated from the state institutions. In the last two years your governor has not asked nor suggested a single change at any institution for political reasons. Ability, efficiency and integrity have been the only requirements for holding a public place. The people do not want to see the state institutions again made the playthings of politics. Of the 2,663 state employes, 40 per cent, or 1,021, are now under the civil service law, 1,648 being exempted by law. If any change is made in the present civil service law, the change should be to strengthen it and make infractions of it less easy. The public business of the state must be divorced absolutely from partisan politics.

The Primary Law.

The people of Kansas look with favor upon the Kansas primary election law. Some minor changes doubtless are

needed, but any effort to repeal it will meet with general disapproval. The popular primary election has come to stay.

Abolish the State School of Mines.

I recommend abolishing the state school of mines at Weir City. This school, established in 1912, has cost the state \$50,000. The average enrollment during five years has been less than 18, with no graduates. The enrollment in September of this year was four. The school has met no demand of the people, it fills no need, and should be immediately abolished.

The State House and Grounds.

Strangers judge a state, as well as an individual, by the condition in which it keeps its home and front yard. Kansas cannot be proud of the dilapidated condition of the east wing of the state house and the slovenly-kept state house grounds. I suggest an ample appropriation for restoring the east wing and for beautifying and keeping the grounds.

Report Appropriation Bills Promptly.

I especially urge that the ways and means committee of each house report the appropriation bills early in the session, that they may be given the careful consideration they require.

I heartily commend the action of the senate and house in reducing the number of employes, thus increasing the efficiency of the service and making a saving in the expenditure of the public funds which will be generally approved by the people.

A Great Chance to Help Kansas.

In conclusion, I desire to congratulate you, gentlemen of the legislature of 1917, upon the opportunity you have of rendering a real service to the people of this great state. Kansas was never so ready for a constructive program. Our people realize, as never before, that with all our high

ideals and all our good intentions we somehow have failed to reach high efficiency in governing ourselves. We are pretty well convinced the fault is not in our intent, but in the machinery we have been using. The people are looking to you to remedy that fault. It is a big job, but one to which you are equal. No political expedient demands dodging or trimming or hedging on your part; no bitter partisanship exists to excuse pettifogging at this session. I appeal to you as men, as Kansans, as statesmen, as patriots, to put aside minor matters; to eliminate politics and partisanship; to get together and do the big things required and expected of you. I ask you to consider throughout your deliberations, first, last, solely—the interest and the welfare of all the people of Kansas whose public servants you are. And I have every confidence that you will—that you will earn the praise of the people and the approval of your conscience.

Respectfully submitted,

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor..

A SPECIAL MESSAGE ON APPROPRIATIONS.

*Governor Capper to the Legislature in Session in Topeka,
February 23, 1915.*

To the Members of the Legislature:

We have a plain duty before us, one we must not shirk, one not to be avoided nor evaded. It compels me to direct your attention to a matter instantly important and pressingly urgent, if as chosen ministers of the will of the people of Kansas we are to do our duty as public servants and keep faith with those we represent and have sworn to serve.

In Kansas we are facing an absolute necessity for stringent economy. In providing for the needs of the various state institutions, it is a case of doing the best we can at a time of world-wide uncertainty and depression, a time when prudence and common sense counsel the utmost moderation,

if not the most painstaking retrenchment. It is a case of cutting our garment to fit our cloth.

A niggardly policy of dealing with public affairs is not expected nor demanded of us. To impair the usefulness of any state institution or retard its growth is not economizing. The consequences of such a policy would be as deplorable as to over-extend our expenditures at a time when economy of the strictest sort is enforced on every prudent person by the prevailing conditions, and when the burdens of taxation are sufficiently heavy. It is for us to steer most carefully between these extremes, and if we do not we may expect most sharply and most justly to be called to account. We can justify ourselves only here and now.

The appropriation bills originating in the Senate and already agreed to by the Senate or its Ways and Means Committee, I am informed, aggregate \$7,214,650. This is an increase of \$1,521,107.34 over the appropriations made by the legislature of 1913 for the same purposes. It is \$1,035,070 in excess of the sum called for by corresponding bills in the House. The appropriations recommended by the House committee are in excess of the estimates made by the auditor of state after careful investigation of the needs of the various departments of state government, and, I understand, are based upon a most careful and searching analysis of what the Ways and Means Committee of the House are convinced are amply sufficient. The members of this committee have given full consideration to the pressing demands of every institution affected. I am fully convinced that the appropriations proposed by the House committee should not be increased.

The appropriations asked for by those intrusted with the conduct of these institutions are asked for in good faith. In most cases they could be used to advantage. But we must not forget that the assessed valuation of property in Kansas was decreased by 5 million dollars last year, nor that the loss of revenue by the repeal of the inheritance tax law and other measures will amount to several hundred thousand

dollars. The chairman of the State Tax Commission has warned us that unless this legislature decreases appropriations by at least a half million dollars, the state tax levy must be increased for the first time in four years. The Senate appropriations, if passed, will necessitate an increase of the levy by $\frac{1}{2}$ mill, an extraordinary increase. I do not believe such an increase is now justifiable, nor that the people of Kansas will sanction it, and they cannot be accused of niggardliness nor the lack of liberality in public affairs.

A comparison of the appropriations made by the state legislature 12 years ago with the appropriations now proposed by the Senate for 1915 shows an increase of 91 per cent. Our state expenditures would then be nearly doubled, with a very slight increase in population. The appropriations made by the state legislature during the last six sessions are:

1903.	\$5,477,040.97
1905.	5,615,127.45
1907.	6,734,927.55
1909.	7,386,578.04
1911.	8,375,884.01
1913.	8,923,919.43

The increase under consideration by the legislature of 1915, and already approved by the Senate, will bring this session's appropriations up to the astonishing sum of approximately \$10,445,000—not only the greatest appropriation ever made by any Kansas legislature, but the greatest increase ever made by any legislature in the history of the state.

I do not question the motives of those who now advocate this abnormal increase in appropriations, but the fact remains that some of the members who are now urging this increase are the very ones who were most deeply concerned two years ago in keeping down appropriations. Then they reluctantly appropriated \$166,982 for new buildings at state educational institutions, while now they are urgently insisting that \$960,350 be appropriated for the same pur-

pose. And all this in face of the fact that our assessed valuation actually decreased 5 million dollars last year, that our population has not increased, and that business conditions, which were then satisfactory, are now much less favorable. Our farmers face uncertain and unstable markets, an unusual number of laboring men are out of employment and business conditions are far from satisfactory. All individuals are curtailing expenses. The state cannot afford unnecessarily to increase them. We should not impose this additional burden upon the people.

I urgently ask a reconsideration of the appropriation bills; for the elimination of every item calling for an expenditure which can by any possibility wait for more propitious times. I have studiously refrained from any attempt to encroach upon the functions of the legislative branch of our state government, but I cannot and will not approve expenditures which I believe to be unwise and unnecessary and extravagant at such a time as this. I most earnestly appeal to you to lay aside the particular benefit of any section of the state or of any institution of the state in which you have a special interest. In the light of conditions as they are, and not as we would have them, I urge you to consider solely the good of the state as a whole; the best interests of all its people.

Respectfully submitted,

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

AN APPEAL FOR A SINGLE STATE ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD.

Governor Capper's Special Message to the State Senate Urging the Creation of a Board of Administration to Conduct the Affairs of All the State Institutions, February 21, 1917.

Gentlemen of the Senate:

A measure of the greatest importance to the state is now before you—having passed the house, and one in which I,

as governor, feel the deepest interest. It provides for the consolidation of the three large state administrative boards into a single board of four members, and for the election by this board of a business manager of the educational, charitable and penal institutions under its supervision.

This proposal has been very widely discussed and most favorably received by the people of Kansas. I gave particular attention to it during the late political campaign in all parts of the state, and everywhere was assured of the approval by business interests of the plan.

The measure has been carefully drawn. I am satisfied that with a single board and an efficient business manager, we can effect important economies, both in purchases of supplies, aggregating hundreds of thousands of dollars annually, for the state institutions, and in unifying the institutional management.

The plan follows closely the commission-manager plan of administration, which has worked so admirably in every city that has adopted it and is rapidly spreading over the country, and is based on the form of organization and management of the successful corporations.

The proposed board of administration, composed of four of the most competent business men to be obtained in the state, under this bill, will have general supervision over the institutions and will be advisory to the business manager, who will have the duties that ordinarily belong to an officer of that title in private business organizations. He will have oversight of the institutions, will prepare their budgets, with the assistance of the board of administration and heads of institutions, will audit and look after their business and, as the general purchasing agent, will bring business system into the purchases of supplies.

This bill, of which I have reviewed only the main provisions and purposes, has passed the house after a thorough discussion, that entered into every detail. The house has shown its earnest desire to co-operate in effecting so important an advance in the business management of our

great and fast growing institutions. My own interest in it is such that if this bill receives your approval, I hope to see the institutions managed with much greater satisfaction than heretofore and with important economies.

If taxes are to cease growing by leaps and bounds, red tape and waste must be cut out. The legislatures in a dozen states, notably Illinois, Indiana and Vermont, are working this winter along the lines suggested in this bill.

The tendency towards multitudinous and overlapping commissions and boards is one of the weaknesses of modern governmental machinery. There is not a great business in the state that would give a moment's consideration to a proposition to abandon existing business methods and systems of management and adopt the political system that prevails in Kansas or any other state government.

The state accountant estimates this bill will save Kansas \$300,000 every year in salaries and operating expenses. It begins by cutting off eight of the fattest, high-salaried political jobs in the state. Naturally, these office seekers, the clerks under them, and their friends, are opposing the bill. Its passage will absolutely cut out politics in the management of state institutions. It means those institutions will be operated in the best manner at the least cost; that waste, mismanagement, favoritism and expensive blundering or neglect will be minimized, as they are now in every big business.

In view of the evident economies such a system will effect, I believe I correctly voice public opinion in expressing the earnest hope that the senate will join with the house in giving the state this much needed legislation.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.

MESSAGE VETOING BILL REPEALING MASSACHUSETTS BALLOT LAW.

Governor Capper in a Veto Message, March 10, 1917, Saved the Law Permitting Independent Voting in Kansas.

To the House of Representatives:

I regret having to return house bill No. 515 without my approval. I am sensible that many of my party associates in the legislature will be disappointed with my veto of this bill.

For years, from conviction, I have been an advocate of the Massachusetts ballot. I have listened attentively to all that has been said in support of the repeal bill, and regret that it is necessary for me to differ so radically in regard to it with many of my associates, whose opinions I value and respect. But my faith in the superiority of the Massachusetts ballot is unshaken, and my conviction in regard to the undesirability of the repeal measure has not changed.

Objections to this measure have come to me voluntarily from all parts of the state, and from all classes and conditions of men and women. And I find myself in entire agreement with the views of the objectors. It is my opinion that Kansas voters generally would deeply resent the enactment of this bill into law. The people are not asking for a return to the party circle form of ballot, in whatever form presented. They object to frequent tinkering with the ballot.

Personally it is my firm and sincere conviction that a form of ballot which compels less discrimination in the choice of candidates instead of more, is not conducive to good citizenship, nor to good government and good politics. Party organization and party strength we must have. But party health is even more vital. Voting a ticket blind at elections can hardly be said to promote party health. It

cannot build up a virile Republicanism, nor a stronger and better democracy. We shall best serve our party by best serving our state.

It has been demonstrated that there are fewer opportunities for mistakes in voting the Massachusetts ballot than there were under the old form of straight-party tickets. Notwithstanding the great and increasing length of tickets, the number of spoiled ballots has been reduced to a minimum. It is to be remembered that four years ago the governorship turned upon several thousand defective ballots spoiled by reason of straight-ticket complications. Had the Massachusetts ballot been in use at that time the election would never have been in doubt.

The proposed ballot to which house bill 515 would return is complicated. It is a mixture. Half is under the straight-ticket form, and half is left under the present form. It promotes confusion.

Besides its simplicity, the great merit of the Massachusetts ballot is that it encourages intelligent, discriminating voting and stimulates greater interest in public affairs on the part of the voters.

The party circle ballot encourages careless, indifferent, thoughtless voting. One cross on the ballot and the voter's duty to the state is discharged.

The Massachusetts ballot is a step in advance in safeguarding the secrecy of the ballot. When all that is required is the placing of a cross in the circle, the precinct watcher has a ready check on the voter in the time he takes to mark his ballot in the booth.

I am advised that 19 states have the Massachusetts ballot as now used in Kansas.

It is a curious fact that only one state has the ballot prescribed in house bill 515. That state is Nebraska, and I am informed a bill is pending in the legislature to repeal its ballot law, with good prospect of success.

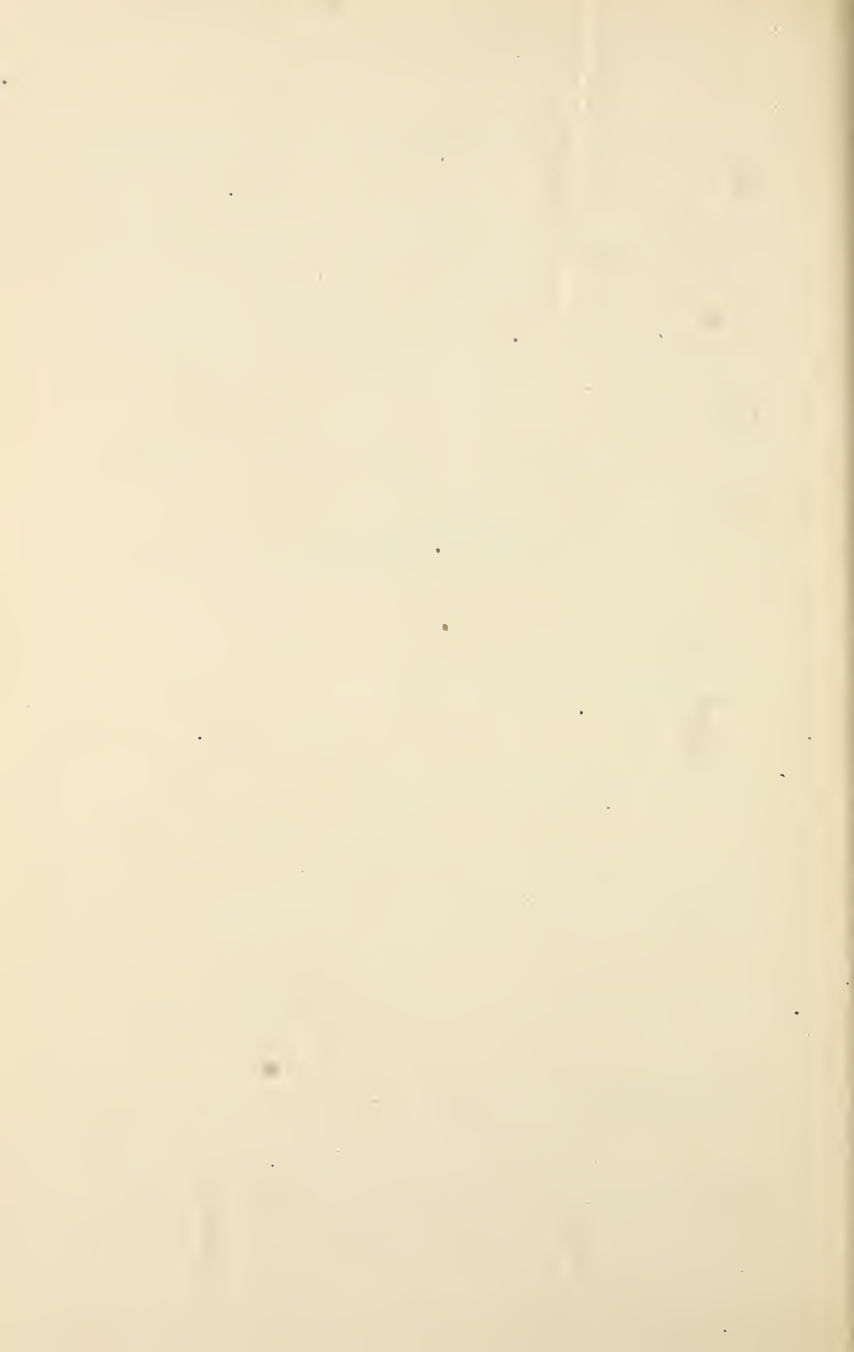
It has been pointed out to me that members of the opposing party in this legislature have fought the repeal bill.

I claim to be as loyal as any man to the best interests of my party. I do not think that house bill 515 is in the true interest of the party. It even involves a reflection, it seems to me, on the party's intelligence. However this may be, the legislature and the governor are not sent here to devise legislation to give one party an advantage in elections thru a form of ballot. The party's claim upon the voters is rightly based on the service it gives them, the character of its principles, the things it stands for, the character and fitness of the men it nominates and the men it elects to public office.

We need the ballot that discriminates, and we should encourage the discriminating voter.

Respectfully submitted,

ARTHUR CAPPER, Governor.



Governor Capper's Addresses

ON

Kansas and Kansas Ideals

Politics and Good Government

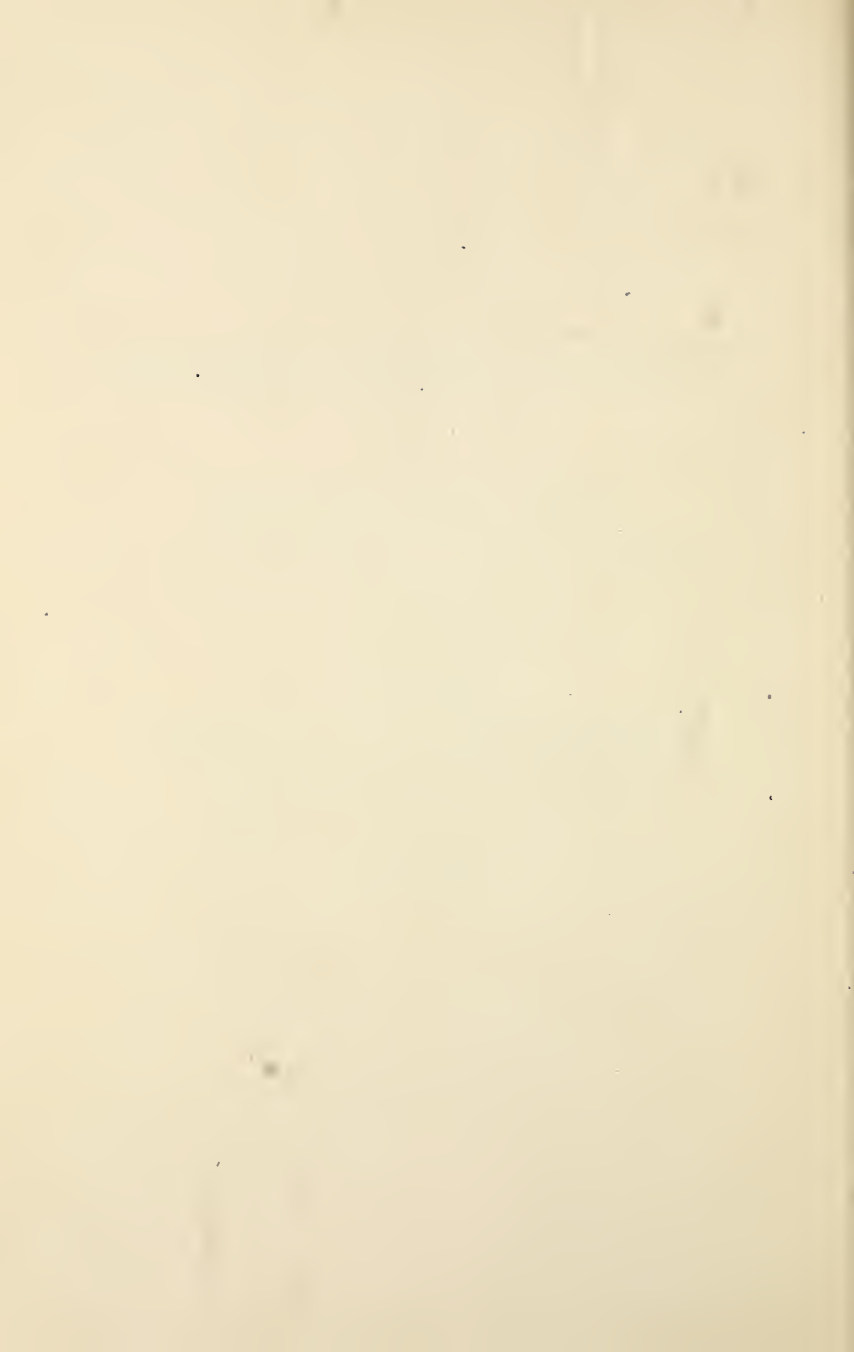
Prohibition

Education

Farming and Farmer's Problems

Church and Public Welfare

Business



KANSAS

The first native governor of Kansas, Arthur Capper, ever has been ready to defend her against the assaults of enemies, such as the liquor interests, which have uttered many a foul libel against the state, and to champion her and her interests in the public forum. Many of his most striking phrases, his most ardent utterances, concern Kansas and Kansas people. In the following excerpts from his speeches and other public addresses and proclamations his love and loyalty to the state of his nativity are reflected.

A NATIVE SON'S TRIBUTE TO HIS STATE

From an Address at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, San Francisco, Dedication of Kansas Building, July 19, 1915.

I am happy to be the bearer of a message of congratulation and good will from the people of the state of Kansas to California and to the management of this great international exposition. There is a close bond of sympathy between Kansas and California. Our people have much in common. I think this is due, in part at least, to the fact that this beautiful Golden state, with its wonderful climate, its bounteous gifts of nature and, most of all, its open-handed, cordial, hospitable people, has tempted so many good and true Kansans to leave the Jayhawker state and retire to California to spend their good Kansas dollars. We have sent you also, I am told, some of your best and

most successful real estate agents. I believe California has enticed away more good Kansas people than any other state in the Union. I warn you, however, that we are trying to make Kansas such a good state, with a people so prosperous and so happy, that our wandering sons and daughters cannot resist "the call of Kansas," but will come back to "that parallelogram of plenty" we all love so well.

This Wonderland of Beauty in which we stand, where all the arts combine to raise, as tho by magic, commemorative temples to art, to science, to invention, to industry, to education, to religion, to all that contributes to the well-being of mankind—

This marvelous display of the beautiful brought together from the treasure houses of all lands—

This broad and comprehensive exposition of the means of progress which have brought our people and the peoples of the world to their present state of civilization, and which we believe God in His providence is using to bring us to man's ultimate goal—

This stupendous panorama of mankind in the Twentieth Century, gathered together while so large a part of the civilized world is plunged into the chaotic barbarism of war, is, first of all, an everlasting monument to the indomitable will, the courage, the energy, the resourcefulness, the spirit of the people of California.

We are an agricultural state and our contributions to your fair must necessarily consist largely of the products of our fields. Of these, we have sent you our best, and you and your judges have been duly appreciative.

I presume that the greater part of you who are within the sound of my voice are now or have been at some time in your life, Kansans. I may be pardoned, then, I hope, if I say something here about the state and the people I am so proud to serve as executive. I know that we Kansas people have been accused of being unable to talk about anything else. We have been accused of "blowing our own horn" to excess. They say we are much given to hot air

and statistics. However, you and I know better. We know the half has not been told of Kansas, nor ever can be.

Never before have Kansans so fully realized what a blessed privilege it is to live in happy, prosperous Kansas. While war is desolating Europe, destroying life, wrecking nations and paralyzing progress—everywhere in peaceful Kansas we are producing record-breaking crops, encouraging united community interest and effort, developing a quickened civic conscience and a higher social life, making our cities and towns better places in which to live, building more consolidated school houses, more high schools, more community halls and churches, more libraries for town and country folk, more comfortable homes all over our broad prairies, and more miles of good roads and substantial and handsome bridges. All Kansas is reading, thinking, doing; seeing, hoping, testing; believing, trying, accomplishing. Everywhere within the state a great page in the history of Kansas progress is being written by ambitious, forward-looking Kansans.

Not long ago, I was honored by a visit in my office at the state house from a sweet-faced, gray-haired lady who came to tell me how glad she was that she had lived long enough to be able to greet a native Kansan governor. In the course of our conversation it came out that this good woman had lived for more than sixty years on the same Kansas farm. When she came to Kansas with her parents, as a child, the entire white population of what was then the Territory of Kansas was less than one hundred persons. Their only neighbors were Indians; the occasional visit of a trapper or a hunter was an event long to be remembered.

This white-haired gentlewoman—Mrs. Mary Stimson—at 84 benign and sweet, clear and keen of mind, well-informed, with faith in God and humanity strengthened by her simple and her noble life, has seen within this brief span in the unending reckoning of time, such things come to pass in a wilderness, as time or history has never before within one lifetime given to mortal eye to behold. She has seen the

passing of the Indian and the buffalo from our plains, the banishing of slavery from Kansas and the nation, a terrible border war as well as a civil war, the so-called "American Desert" converted into cattle ranges and these great tracts of grazing land cut up into fertile farms. In the brief span of a lifetime—a lifetime still unended—she has seen a great empire spring from a vast solitude, a wild West give place to a new and a cultured modern civilization, a great commonwealth of the nation grow from less than 100 souls to more than 1¾ millions.

On what other part of the globe, at what other period in history since time began has there been such a wide range of achievement, such a magnificent sweep of accomplishment? Kansas is the world's greatest epic! There is nothing, even in romance, to compare with its rise, development and history. It is a record that stirs the blood and makes pardonable a pride, however great, in being a Kansan.

Nearly half a century ago William H. Seward said that in the future "men will go up to Kansas as they go to Jerusalem."

Already the prophecy has been justified.

There is an irresistible magnetism, a mental tonic, in the atmosphere of Kansas. The history, the growth, the prosperity of the state, are all exceptional. Tho little more than fifty years old, Kansas has outstripped in population, wealth and all the elements of an advanced civilization, more than two-thirds of the states of the Union.

It is the heart of the continent. Its development has been without parallel in the record of American commonwealths. It has absorbed in its population the best blood and brain of all the civilized nations of the earth. Everywhere we look the state shows steady advancement; everywhere are the evidences of culture, thrift and enterprise, of a larger, broader life, and a firmer, deeper faith.

Let me say here that I yield to no man in my love for my state. Kansas is my birthplace. Born fifty years ago only a few miles from John Brown's historic cabin at Osa-

watomie I was taught from my cradle, to love my state and defend it, and all I have or hope to have is in Kansas.

It was the admission of California as a free state that gave the free states a majority in the Senate, and it was the settlement in Kansas of many of your hardy pioneers—the “forty-niners”—all sturdy champions of human freedom and national unity, that helped us found and develop in Kansas what I believe is the finest example in all America, or in all the world, of a pure democracy responsive to the will of the people and standing firmly for the rights of all men without regard to race, creed or color.

In our own way, I think we have done more in Kansas to promote social progress, to bring larger opportunities to our citizens of every class and condition, than any other American commonwealth; and have developed an intelligent citizenship thru the ballot which comes nearer to putting government on the basis intended by the framers of the Declaration of Independence, than is to be found anywhere else in all the land, or in all the world.

In the comparatively short time since the plowshare first turned the rich and fertile sod of Kansas, the vigorous young state has stepped forward with all the impetuosity of youth, and now, as compared with her sister states ranks: First in wheat, first in combined value of wheat and corn, first in alfalfa, first in sorghums, first in her per capita wealth, first in the arts of the husbandman, first in wholesome environments for home building and first in the high order of her citizenship.

I am not going to weary you with statistics. But I hope I may be pardoned if I ask: “Haven’t we reason to be proud of Kansas?”

California has invited us to come here—with all the rest of the world—and to “put our best foot forward.” I wish that I might, today, make a fitting exhibit of what Kansas really is and what Kansas stands for. Kansas—

The state which sends more boys and girls to university,

college and public school, in proportion to population, and fewer men and women to prison and jail than any other state.

The state which has the smallest number of persons who cannot read and write—less than 2 per cent of its population.

The state which gives most lavishly to the needy, the unfortunate and the delinquent, which distributes more than 2 million dollars every year thru its hospitals, its asylums, its orphanages and other public and private charities.

The state with fewer millionaires and fewer paupers than any other state—pre-eminently the state of the great common people of whom Abraham Lincoln said that God must have loved them best because he made so many of them.

The state which has the lowest percentage of crime, poverty, immorality, insanity, imbecility and drunkenness.

The state which was first successfully and completely to wipe out the abominable saloon traffic.

The state which for thirty-five years has not had a legalized saloon or brewery, and now has eighty-eight city and county jails that are empty, forty-seven poor farms and almshouses that are unoccupied, twenty-eight counties in which the criminal courts have not had a prosecution in more than a year.

The state which was first to declare unanimously thru its legislature, its state officials and its entire delegation in Congress for nationwide prohibition—and national prohibition is coming in less than ten years, just as sure as the sun shines.

The state which has the lowest death rate in the United States, only seven to the 1,000, a percentage constantly decreasing, notwithstanding we have more motor cars in proportion to population than any state.

The state which has the largest per capita of wealth—almost \$2,500 for every man, woman and child within its borders.

The state which holds the world's record as a producer

of wheat—a single crop of 185 million bushels—exceeding in value twice over all the gold and silver mined in the United States and Alaska in an entire year, and enough to feed every family in the United States for at least twelve months.

The state to which the jury of awards of your great international exposition, only the other day, awarded one grand prize and seventy-eight medals for the surpassing excellence of its agricultural exhibit.

The one state which has more than a half million boys and girls who never saw an open saloon.

The finest, cleanest, soberest, happiest, most prosperous commonwealth in this Union.

This is the exhibit of Kansas I should like to make to the people of the world in your beautiful exposition, and I freely confess I am proud to be the chief executive of such a state; and especially proud to be the first native Kansan to become its governor; the first to be chosen by the votes of Kansas women. It is an honor of which any man may be proud.

• We are told by the kings of finance in Wall Street that Kansas is today the most prosperous state in the Union. This is true. We have 205 millions of surplus wealth piled in our banks and savings institutions. But better and nobler than all this material success is the high standard of citizenship, the fine spirit of justice and fairness that animates the soul of every true Kansan with a little more fervor, I am sometimes tempted to think, than the citizen of any other state.

The true greatness of Kansas, as of any state, lies in the moral fiber of its people. Kansas is a great state because it is populated by great-hearted men and women. The pioneers who won the wilderness for us were hardy men and women, strong of heart and great of soul—they laid the foundation for a great state. It was Kansas that led the way in the nation's great struggle for human freedom, and for more than a third of a century the Kansas con-

science has been in the forerank in almost every effort to elevate the moral, social and educational standards of the nation. In Kansas a genuine effort has been made to incorporate in our body politic, fundamental moral ideas, and we have endeavored to base our laws and our institutions upon the eternal truths that tend to righteousness.

And I honestly believe that Kansas today comes a little nearer than any other state in the Union to giving every man, woman and child within its borders evenhanded justice, a square deal and an equal chance in every department of life.

And this has been brought about by the character and stability of the Kansas people; it is because our Kansas citizenship is made up of men and women dominated so largely by Christian ideals—right living, high thinking, decency, honesty, sobriety, industry and the noblest things of life. Their patriotism and their high ideals are reflected in our laws and our institutions.

KANSAS' DEBT TO OTHERS

From an Address of Welcome to the Members of the Association of American Secretaries of State, Meeting in Topeka, 1917.

We of Kansas have a just pride in our state. We like to believe and do believe that ours is, in many ways, the greatest state in the Union and that our people are the best that the sun of heaven shines upon. This pride in our state and our people is not all our own. The members of this association have a right to share this pride with us because practically every state in the Union has contributed of her very best people to our population and added to the grandeur and glory of the "Sunflower" state.

In the early settlement of Kansas were many hardships, dangers and privations. The weakling and the mollycoddle

had no place nor share in the stirring events that transpired within our borders in those times that tried men's souls. Only the strong and brave could endure the awful strife and carnage that prevailed during the dark days immediately preceding the Civil War when lawlessness reigned supreme and force was the only arbiter and when only the brave men your states sent into the new territory saved the day for liberty and freedom. There is no more sublime example of true patriotism in all the world's history than was displayed by those early settlers of Kansas and practically all the older states have a right to a share of the glory achieved by those hardy pioneers.

When the war was over these men who had fought so bravely for law and order and liberty were the first to cast off the habiliments of war and they immediately became leaders in a great industrial war for the conquering of a wilderness and the building in its stead a great state and a greater civilization. For many years the farmers of Kansas battled against conditions that at times seemed insurmountable and labored under circumstances the most trying and discouraging. Crop failures and grasshoppers, drouth and mortgages were enough to dishearten any but the staunchest and again only the strong and courageous were able to hold out. And be it remembered that in this later war of conquest of the elements all the states sent their industrial soldiers to our aid, the very best they had to offer, for only the enterprising and the courageous cared to enlist in this volunteer army or having enlisted only they had the nerve to stay to the finish.

And so, my friends, our state was builded and populated by the strong, the virile, the courageous and the enterprising from all the states. This is why Kansas claims so much for her citizenship. It is no idle claim. It is an example of the survival of the fittest and you have a right to share with us this feeling of pride because you contributed of the very best that you had to our wonderful achievements and success.

KANSAS' RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT

From an Address at the G. A. R. Encampment at Hutchinson, Kansas, May 12, 1915.

Kansas has a shining record of accomplishment in the field of successful, constructive legislation. Its prohibitory law, its "blue sky" law, its anti-pass law, its primary election law, its bank guaranty law, its pure food law and its state text book law are a tribute to the progressive spirit of the Kansas people.

The most modern and most humane prison in the United States is in Kansas and is considered the world's best reform school for bad bankers.

In proportion to population, Kansas has more boys and girls in the public schools, more students in its colleges and universities, and fewer men and women in jail, than any other state in the Union. Only 2 per cent of its population is illiterate.

Twenty-two counties out of a total of one hundred and five have not called a grand jury to try a criminal case in ten years.

Sixty-five counties have no prisoners in the penitentiary.

Fifty-three counties today have empty jails.

Thirty-eight counties today have empty poor houses, and the entire number of paupers in the state falls short of 600.

Eighty-seven counties have no insane.

Fifty-four counties have no feeble minded.

The state's death rate has dropped from 17 in 1,000 to 7 in 1,000, altho the motor car per capita of Kansas is of the highest and is constantly increasing.

And I believe all this is largely due to the fact that for more than thirty-five years, the open saloon has been an

outlaw in this state. Our physical development has not been stunted, our moral sense has not been blunted by intoxicating liquors.

Kansas is the one state in the Union where a half million boys and girls, young men and women; never have seen a saloon; never have been brought face to face with the soul-destroying blight of alcohol.

It is good to live in Kansas.

It is good to be proud of such a state and such a record. But let us earnestly resolve that every day we live we shall endeavor with all the earnestness we possess to make Kansas greater, cleaner; happier, better, that we in our time may merit the honor and esteem of generations here and yet to come, and crown our lives with the ineffable satisfaction that comes of doing God's work.

THE GREAT MEN OF KANSAS

*From an Address at the Wichita (Kansas) Exposition,
Oct. 12, 1915.*

Recently during a fit of mental dyspepsia, a famous editorial writer in Kansas mournfully announced in his paper that Kansas had produced no great men.

It is true we have been doing team work in Kansas rather than specializing. But team work was the important and the necessary thing. The world's history knows no greater epic in state-building than the rise in 50 years of the Kansas Empire, with its culture, wealth and progressive civilization, from the sage brush and the prairie. An empire, too, as large or larger than any one of a half dozen great kingdoms, which have considered one or more centuries not too long a time to take for the building of a single pyramid or the construction of one cathedral.

We are pretty young yet to be counting our great men, but to charge that the pioneers of Kansas, those men and

women strong of heart and great of soul, who led the way in the great struggle for human freedom in the '60s, failed utterly to develop individual greatness, or to impress their own qualities on the succeeding generations, controverts all we know of science and history.

In the Kansas language, "it isn't so."

Early in its history Kansas developed one of the greatest constructive statesmen of his day—Preston B. Plumb.

In the same period it sent the brilliant, scholarly Ingalls to Washington, an intellectual diamond, a writer who enriched the world's literature with his pen and contributed to it at least one immortal poem.

It sent a noble man and a just and far-seeing judge to the Supreme bench of the United States in Justice Brewer.

In William C. Hook it has contributed to the federal judiciary one of the keenest, most unerring analytical legal minds in America.

A Kansas volunteer soldier, Frederick Funston, commands the army of the United States. He never has failed his government in time of need from the day of his enlistment. From the time he was sent after and captured the Filipino rebel leader Aguinaldo in the jungles of a strange land, and that time when, acting without orders, he instantly brought law and order out of chaos at San Francisco during the earthquake, to the time he was commissioned to sit on the lid of an incipient war at Vera Cruz and prevent it from becoming a real war and a grave international complication, he has invariably "delivered the goods."

Funston, however, is not the only military great man of Kansas. America's greatest expert in gunnery is Brigadier General William Crozier, for years chief of the ordnance department of the army and who came from Kansas.

No one will deny either that we have great preachers. The Rev. Charles M. Sheldon is one of the great preachers

of his day. Only one other book, the Bible, has had more readers than Dr. Sheldon's "In His Steps."

As to literature, wherever English is read or spoken, Ingalls' "Opportunity," Eugene Ware's "Washerwoman's Song," and Carruth's "Each in His Own Tongue" are known and cherished. No poet or versifier, ancient or modern, is more widely read than our beloved Walt Mason, and few have written more appealing lines than his "Little Green Tents" and "Morning in Kansas." We have no apologies to make for the literary product of William Allen White, E. W. Howe, F. D. Coburn, Cyrus Townsend Brady, Margaret Hill McCarter, Esther M. Clark, Frank W. Blackmar and many others, not to mention at least half a dozen great editors and as many famous illustrators of Eastern journals and magazines, who were born in or brought up in Kansas.

It is not generally known that five Eastern college presidents are from Kansas. Nor that four young men, born in Kansas in the '70s, three of them in Lawrence and one in Leavenworth, are the world's construction kings in the building trade. They are the men who have developed the type and are the builders of the great sky-scrappers, the architectural wonders of the world.

In science Kansas has outstripped many older states and has furnished more men to the Department of Agriculture at Washington than all the other states put together.

Last but not least it has produced at least one great benefactor of the human race in John P. St. John, staunch advocate of prohibition.

This is merely a cursory, off-hand list offered in rebuttal to the dyspeptic editor's lament. The half has not been told.

Kansas has a shining record of accomplishment in the field of successful, constructive legislation. Its prohibitory law, equal suffrage law, its "blue sky" law, its bank guar-

anty law (greeted with jeers, then encored and then imitated), its primary election law, its anti-pass law, its pure food law, and its state text book law, show the progressive, forward-looking spirit of the Kansas people.

KANSAS PROSPERITY

*From an Address at the Kansas State Agricultural College,
January 19, 1916.*

Let me say something as to the substantial prosperity of our state. We are a fortunate commonwealth. Our per capita taxable wealth of \$1,630, is greater than that of any other state and twice as high as that of the United States as a whole. It gives us a total of nearly 3 billion dollars—\$2,884,624,600 to be exact—of taxable wealth, an increase of 79 million dollars the past year—and enables us to maintain a state tax rate of \$1.25 on a thousand—lower than that of any other state with one exception. It is interesting to note that of the taxable property of Kansas, a little more than 15 per cent, (\$436,721,785) is owned by the various public utility companies: The 9,248 miles of railways in the state, with their equipment are assessed at \$386,422,000; the property of the gas and pipe line companies at 20 million dollars and street and interurban railways at \$13,313,000. A total of more than 100 million dollars of property owned by churches, lodges and public institutions is entirely exempt from taxation.

The state itself owns property in its various public institutions valued at $21\frac{1}{2}$ million dollars—more than double the value of the state's property when these bonds were issued twelve years ago. No doubt we have not expended all the money for public institutions that many of us would like to see expended; but doubling our state property and the expenses of its administration in a decade can hardly

be called a niggardly policy. Nearly 2 million dollars was distributed during the year thru our hospitals, asylums, orphanages and other public and private charities.

Kansas municipal bonds are as salable and at as low rate of interest, as any municipal bonds in the nation. At least half of the municipal securities issued by Kansas cities and towns are owned in Kansas; 10 million dollars of such bonds being held as an investment by the state school funds. If any of our Eastern friends in Wall Street or elsewhere own Kansas municipal bonds and want to get rid of them, I guarantee them a premium at any time. The brewery interests proclaim to the world that Kansas is on the high road to financial ruin, but at the same time they invest their surplus in Kansas municipal bonds. They buy them because they know sober Kansas pays its debts, and its bonds are worth more than 100 cents on the dollar.

The prosperity of Kansas is shown in many ways. Our bank deposits of \$224,110,576 are the largest per capita of any state—an increase of 23 million dollars in the year 1915; our 84,000 automobiles—that's what it was yesterday and they've increased since—and will increase still more rapidly as we improve our roads—as we will—gives one car to every sixth family—a record equaled by only two other states; our 589 telephone companies with their 831 exchanges and 340,000 telephones, gives a 'phone to every family of five—the largest percentage of any state; our farm products in 1915 of \$341,561,000 and our live-stock valued at \$310,655,000; our 325 million dollars of manufacturing products in 1915—all give us reason for congratulation.

The state has a permanent school fund of \$10,485,299, and has invested in its school property more than 28 million dollars—an increase of $1\frac{3}{4}$ million dollars this year. We spent in the last year, \$12,210,000 for educational purposes—an increase of almost 1 million dollars. We have enrolled in our colleges 27,000 students—the largest college attendance in proportion to population of any state. Our

state university, agricultural college and normal schools received from the state \$1,660,000 more last year than their cost of maintenance a decade ago; so while our schools are not all that we are going to make them, we are making progress, and the state may be proud of the fact that we have less than 2 per cent illiteracy—next to the lowest of any state in the nation.

Yes, Kansas is a prosperous state, but there are some things which we do not have. More than half a million of our boys and girls never saw an open bar-room; we have only fourteen women in Kansas state prison; we send only about two-fifths as many men to jail to the thousand of population as does the nation as a whole; we have a great scarcity of poor-farms and paupers; we don't have nearly so many funerals as do other states, our death rate being extremely low; we have fewer tenants and more homeowners in proportion to population; and we drink very little booze. With these exceptions, I think you will agree with me that Kansas is all right.

I do not think we can find anywhere else on the face of the earth a million and three-quarters of people who will grade up as well; who have a greater respect for law; who are as responsive to the demands of decency and fairness and the higher standards of citizenship. I believe we have here the finest example in all America of a pure democracy standing firmly for the rights of all men without regard to race, creed or condition.

It is a privilege and a blessing to live in a state with such a record as Kansas has made and to have done something toward making that record. We have only to go on in the spirit in which we have begun, indeed our development in citizenship as gauged by its future possibilities has just begun in Kansas.

Never in the history of the state has Kansas been in better condition physically and financially and never have our people been more keenly alive to our opportunities for progress and our possibilities of true greatness. We are

entering the year 1916 with most brilliant prospects. From the bottom of my heart, I congratulate you upon what we have already attained and upon our opportunities for the future.

KANSAS IDEALS

From an Address at the Sterling, Kan., Chautauqua, July 24, 1917.

I may be pardoned, I hope, if I say something today about the state and the people I am so proud to serve as their chief executive.

Now, Kansas is a great state. We are always ready to admit it is a great state, and we tell everybody it is a great state. We Kansas people are accused of being unable to talk about anything else. We are accused of blowing our horn too much. It is said of us that we are much given to hot air and statistics. However, I deny the hot air. You and I know the half never has been told about Kansas, either with hot air or statistics.

We have no royal families, nor moss-covered ruins in Kansas. We are just a plain every-day kind of people who believe with all our hearts in being decent, in being honest, in being fair; and we want a square deal for our neighbors as well as for ourselves.

There has been forced upon me one conviction. It is this: That nowhere else in this great country is there a place so well fitted for the development of an efficient and dominant type of manhood and womanhood as in Kansas. The greatest thing we produce or create in Kansas is manhood—man-power.

Manhood and womanhood such as I speak of is the consequence of industry, thrift and clean living, of optimism, courage and energy. It is the product of a people's ideals, a people's surroundings, the conditions of their life and

living, their thought, their standards of conduct, their ambitions and their determination truly to educate and direct their children. It is the product of their pride in and love for home, for the home community, for their state and their native land. It is the product of their vigilant watchfulness over everything affecting the welfare of their institutions and their devotion to God's great cause—human progress.

It is these conditions of life and living, these standards of conduct and morals, that we have made possible, or provided for in Kansas, that have made us truly the happiest, the busiest, the most prosperous people in the world today. Kansas was headed right at the start. "To the stars through difficulties," was its motto of statehood, now immortalized in its Great Seal. I wish to impress upon you that we have only to go on in the spirit in which we have begun; that indeed our development in citizenship, as gauged by its future possibilities, has just begun in Kansas. We now have nearly 2 million people in the state. There is room for millions more of the right kind of people but there is not an inch of space left for the wrong kind.

Nation building, state building, is really community building and home building. As are the communities in which we live, so will be the state. It rises no higher, has no loftier ideals; it will face problems and responsibilities no more successfully than its communities and neighborhoods. You are making the state in making your little town and its surroundings what they are and what they should be.

This is a great day in which we are living, and fortunate are we in having Kansas for our dwelling place. The mighty principles of the Prince of Peace were never more regnant in the people's hearts than they are in our hearts today, in Kansas and in the nation. We are striving to make the Golden Rule the rule of life. More and more are we giving practical application to the eternal ideals of fair-play and the square deal which fell from the Master's lips.

in the Sermon on the Mount; to bring peace on earth and good will to men.

The people of this country and of Kansas are becoming more and more interested in the vital questions and projects which have to do with the advancement of the citizenship of this country. We are taking these problems up and settling them finally along the right line. At times we become confused, but the people of America, and especially of Kansas, have within them the sound ideas, the inspiration and the true spirit of democracy, with the courage, the enterprise and the determination to try out and test these ideas in practice. It is in this way that we finally shall attain the ideals to which we are looking forward. Praise for what we already have done in Kansas is due to the average man. Credit for what we are yet to do also will go to him. The reason is, this is his kind of a country, and that no country can be greater than its average citizenship.

THE FUN OF BEING GOVERNOR

*From an Address Delivered to the Ladies of the Maccabees,
Topeka Auditorium, June 27, 1918.*

I wish that every Kansan—every Kansas man and woman—might take turns at being governor at Topeka—that all of you might become governors in fact as you are in reality.

Of course there would be something doing then, and there ought to be. I'm sure there would be when the women folks got there.

You may consider that last remark facetious, if you choose, but I wish to say that I have a great respect for Kansas women. I married one of them and my mother was another—a pioneer Kansas woman. No finer women ever

lived than these pioneer women. But you know and I know what Kansas women have done and are doing.

I have still another reason, a mighty good reason, for respecting the women of Kansas and approving of their judgment and discrimination—they made me governor, the first Kansas governor to be elected by the women of Kansas. I wouldn't trade that distinction for any other earthly honor. It will be about the first thing I shall mention to Saint Peter when he asks me what special business, if any, has brought me to the pearly gates. Then I shall ask him if he knows that in proportion to population, Kansas has more boys and girls in the public schools, more students in its colleges and university, and fewer men and women in jail, than any other state in the Union. And that much less than 2 per cent of its population cannot read and write and "figger."

Then I may inquire if he has ever heard about a Kansas man named St. John who drove the snakes out of Kansas. If he has read Dr. Sheldon's book. If he knows that Jess Willard, champion of the world, is a Kansas man and that Satan and Whisky stand no more chance with him than Jack Johnson did.

Then I shall tell him that Walter Johnson, the world's best pitcher, hails from Kansas; that "Smoky Joe" Wood, of the Boston "Red Socks" came from St. George, Kan.; that it was Fred Funston who sat on the lid at Vera Cruz and at Brownsville; that we have the biggest Shorthorn steer in the world at Eureka and that we have the most good-humored kicker in the world at Emporia, in the person of William Allen White.

If this doesn't get me in, I shall proceed to tell Saint Peter that Kansas was fighting for freedom six years before Lincoln wrote his emancipation proclamation; that we gave trainloads and shiploads of perfectly good Kansas wheat, worth \$1.50 a bushel right out on the farm, to helpless, starving Belgium, without price; that Kansas saved the American nation from what would have been the blackest

panic in its history, by coming to the front at the most critical and crucial moment with the biggest wheat crop that ever was grown or harvested. If this fails me I can still fall back on some of Coburn's and Jake Mohler's agricultural reports.

A GREATER KANSAS CITIZENSHIP.

From an Address to the Lawrence Commercial Club, January 10, 1912.

I think the Creator must have been in a particularly happy frame of mind when He made "this grassy parallelogram we call Kansas." I think He must have had His eye on this particular spot when He pronounced all His works "good." But, gentlemen, soil and climate, rolling prairies and luscious grasses, hill and valley, river and plain—these of themselves do not make a great state. They are only the start—the foundation—the stage setting as it were, where the drama of a people's life will be enacted.

We have had a great start; we have great resources and almost unlimited possibilities, but what the Greater Kansas will be, depends primarily upon the sort of men and women who constitute the state. It is as true now as ever that—"it is men, high-minded men who make a state."

And so the first concern of every patriotic citizen, the first concern of every individual who loves his state, the first concern of every association that seeks the betterment of conditions under which we live, the first concern of every school—yes, and of every church—must be the quality of the citizenship which the people of Kansas maintain. On that more than on any other thing depends our Greater Kansas.

It seems to me that this is the first principle of good citizenship—a willingness to accede to that which is best

for the whole people—not what is best for me or for my particular interests; not what is best for my particular friends, or the particular line of business in which I may happen to be engaged, but what is best for all the people.

I rejoice, my friends, in the firm conviction that this spirit of broader, deeper patriotism—the patriotism that takes into account the well-being and the rights of the humblest citizen—is making such rapid headway in our age and generation.

And so I come here as a faithful native son of liberty-loving Kansas as one who is deeply interested with you in everything that pertains to the welfare of this matchless state, to join hands with you God-fearing people of this splendid city of Lawrence in a solemn pledge this evening that we will live our lives righteously, that we will fight the good fight for human progress, for loftier ideals, for a square deal and exact justice for every citizen, for the sacred things which so deeply concern the welfare of your city, that we will strive unceasingly to quicken the public sense of Christian duty, and do our part, be it large or small, in making the world a little cleaner, a little more decent, a little happier, a little more God-like.

THE KANSAS SPIRIT.

*From an Address at the First Methodist Church, Hoyt,
Kan., May 30, 1914.*

As you know, Kansas has prospered materially as no other state; it has built great cities, splendid colleges, wonderful industrial concerns; its prosperous people by thrift and enterprise have piled millions of surplus wealth in her banks and savings institutions. But better than the splendor and wealth of its cities and farms, is the kind heart of the Kansas people that beats in the homes of Kansas,

the high tide of human brotherhood that throbs in their veins, and the spirit of justice and lofty ideals which animates the soul of every good citizen of Kansas with a little more fervor, I think, than it does the citizen of any other state.

There never was a time, it seems to me, in the history of the world when there was so much real interest in human welfare; so much indignation at oppression and injustice; so much of the spirit of fair play; so much real sympathy for misfortune; such high ideals as there are today. I rejoice that all over Kansas, the sturdy, ambitious citizenship is throwing its forces with greater zeal than ever before, behind those constructive measures which make for the best in home and community betterment; for the best in social, moral and educational uplift; for all the influences which are active in the building of manly boys, of womanly girls, of clean and useful men and women, and which are doing their full share in the solution of the great human interest questions that will make the world better and happier and stimulate a richer and more abundant life.



POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Mr. Capper's political career is unique in that the first time he became a candidate for public office he met defeat at the polls, only to "come back" in the next state campaign, two years later, when for a second time he was the Republican candidate for governor. He was re-elected to that office at the end of the next two year period, by a majority of 162,000, the largest ever given a gubernatorial candidate in Kansas, and before the end of his second term as governor was elected to the United States Senate by the largest majority ever given a candidate for that office. Thruout his political career, both before and after he became a candidate for office, he stood courageously for progressive principles, daring to champion them even when to do so spelled for him temporary personal, political disaster. This fact adds interest to his utterances on purely partisan and political issues.

INTEGRITY THE ONLY SOUND BASIS FOR A POLITICAL PARTY

*From a Speech Made in Coffeyville on the Eve of the
Primary Election, August 4, 1912.*

For one, I am not afraid to trust the judgment of the people and I am suspicious of any scheme in the courts or otherwise, which seeks to prevent the people from exercising their right and their authority.

I am actuated in this campaign by an earnest desire to

stand for what I believe to be square and honest politics, and to save the Republican party, of which I am proud to count myself a member, from certain defeat and from final and total disruption.

In taking this stand I want to say furthermore that I have been a Republican all my life, I expect to continue a Republican, and I am opposed to the organization in Kansas of the proposed new third party.

I am a Republican now because I know that that party, in spite of the manipulations of self-seeking politicians, is in this state the champion of human right, that it has kept step with the most progressive spirit of the age, and has been a power in the creation and crystallization of the progressive sentiment of the entire country. In Kansas the Republican party stands for clean government and untainted politics.

I recognize the absolute necessity of political parties, but the party belongs to the people—not the people to the party, and it is for the members of the party to say what the party shall do.

I think I know the temper of the Republicans of Kansas. They are in no mood to stand any political jugglery this year.

I abhor clap-trap and demagoguery; I have no use for partisanship built up on cheap appeals to popular prejudice; I know that class hatred may be easily fanned into passion that would be fatal to the very existence of our republic but I also believe with all the intensity of my being that the general welfare stands above and beyond privilege, profit and party. I am in favor of the progressive movement because it means a more intelligent and effective participation of the people in the control of their own affairs; it means that the representatives of the people shall obey the people and not obey the bosses and the privileged interests; that taxation shall not fall heaviest on the poor; that justice and not technicality shall control the courts of law; that the rights of the poor are more sacred

than the privileges of the rich; that human welfare is better worth working and fighting for than property and profits; and that this government must and shall be delivered from the domination of special privilege.

We frequently hear in these days that certain men are experimenting with new plans of government and dangerous expedients. But if I mistake not, the controlling purpose is not that of new experiments, but to bring this old government back to where the fathers left it to the people. The things done in these efforts may not always be wise, but all these strivings are but the effort of our great democracy to find and get hold of itself under our new industrial conditions. We do not need a new gospel; we need rather to preach the creed of Washington and Lincoln and Roosevelt with a tongue of fire thruout the land.

I have great confidence in the ability of the American people to select public servants who will solve the perplexing problems that confront us and if these public servants are held to strict account by the people they will be more alert and we will have a better government.

A progressive, wide-awake people always have new problems to solve. New conditions, and fresh difficulties meet us as we advance. If we stood still—as it seems to me some people are anxious to do—our only problem would be to keep off the rust and decay. But Kansas is going forward “To the stars thru difficulties.” Nowhere is found a higher grade of citizenship—nowhere a people more able to solve, and solve righteously, the complexities of modern civilization.

When I read of the unblushing purchase of whole counties of voters in Ohio; the reckless expenditure of barrels of boodle for a Wisconsin Senatorship; the shameless municipal debaucheries of Pittsburgh and San Francisco and New York; the filthy rottenness of Illinois legislatures, I rejoice that I live in decent law-respecting Kansas. I do not believe such things could happen in our state.

Taught from infancy that my first allegiance is due to

my state and my country, I am one of those who believe that a party should stand for ideals and principles that mean something; who believe there is a place in politics for honesty and sincerity and decency and truth; I am one of those who believe that parties are organized not to divide the spoils and plunder of office, but to maintain the ascendancy of progressive, patriotic principles; I am one who believes that the brazen purchase of a seat in the United States Senate is one of the most monstrous of crimes against the people, whether committed by a Democrat in Montana or a Republican in Illinois; that the character and record of a party's candidate should emphasize the declarations of that party's platforms; that Kansas deserves as her public servants the best brains, the best energy and the best morals of the state. I believe that the financial pirates, the audacious promoters of watered stock-jobbing schemes and business combines who prey on the people and violate the law, should be made to serve their terms in prison; that the rich bank president who robs his depositors must not be paroled, but must pay the same penalty, and just as promptly, as the poor man whose hunger may have compelled him to steal.

A CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR.

From a Campaign Speech at Lawrence on the Eve of the Election, November, 1912.

You have been informed by your chairman that I am a candidate for governor, and I presume it is not inappropriate for me to speak to you briefly on that subject. I can only say to you that I stand pledged to a business administration—and by that I mean an administration that will look after the business of the state first, last and all the time, honestly, fearlessly and with justice to all.

I think the people of Kansas should regard their state

government as a great big corporation, in which every citizen is an equal stockholder. Your chief executive is the man whom you choose to manage the business of this corporation, with fairness and justice to every stockholder. His honest intentions must be beyond question, and his ability must have been proved and demonstrated.

If the people of Kansas think I meet these requirements—and they should elect no man who does not measure up to their highest ideals—I pledge you that I will bring to the executive office all the ability that I possess; all of the earnest purpose and all of the energy that I have in the past devoted to my personal business. I shall administer the affairs of this state with an eye single to the best interests of the whole people; I shall do my very best to give the state a clean, honest and progressive administration. I shall work for the lowest taxes consistent with an administration that keeps pace with the progress of the times, and shall do my best to keep out the grafters; the leeches; the hangers on; the jobbers; the useless officials, clerks and commissions; to abolish the excessive salaries; to eliminate the jokers in legislative acts; to head off all extravagant appropriations; and shall endeavor to handle the business of the state with justice and economy and on the broad basis of the greatest good to the greatest number.

I was born in Kansas; I have lived here all my life; and every interest I have is centered in Kansas. Whatever measure of success I have achieved in life has come to me as a citizen of Kansas. I have unbounded pride in the state and unlimited confidence in its future. I have done what I could for a better and greater Kansas. My continuous residence at the capital of the state for over twenty-seven years has given me unusual opportunity to become thoroly familiar with every department of the state's business. I have advocated certain principles and certain ideals of public service and I have endeavored to live up to these ideals and these principles.

I shall make no brass band campaign for this office. I

am not an "orator" nor a "spell-binder," but I do not think that the voters of Kansas are in any mood to be stampeded this year by flights of oratory or spread eagles. As a candidate I shall go before the people with nothing more than a plain, straightforward platform of the things I believe my business experience equips me to do, and my pledges will be limited to those I think I can honestly fulfill.

If I become governor I will take the office untrammelled by a single promise. No special interest, no individual, no boss, no faction can dictate to me. I wear no man's collar—my hands are not tied and will not be. If elected, I shall be the governor and shall administer the powers entrusted to me without favoritism and without prejudice toward any man or any faction.

AN APPEAL FOR GENUINE PATRIOTISM.

From an Address at Topeka State Fair, September 14, 1916.

Because the nations of Europe are drunk with blood; because of the appalling destruction of that awful war; because it is the most terrible, the most colossal, the most shocking tragedy humanity ever has known—a great tide of fear, of hate, and of doubt and suspicion has swept over the whole world. Never since life on earth began, has there been such a tremendous need of true patriotism, of high moral courage, of forbearance and mercy—the high and the holy patriotism which dedicates itself to life and progress, not to death and destruction.

Nowhere is the spirit of this braver and higher patriotism stronger than in America, because nowhere on earth is there a people with a greater passion for justice, for liberty, for equality. America never has failed to prove it. It will just as surely prove it again and again. We

are dedicated to it. In the inmost soul of every American, whether he realizes it or not, burns a fierce and an overwhelming determination to be right; right no matter what the cost; right no matter what the consequences; right tho the heavens fall, tho we give up everything to be right. This is the undaunted, the undefeated, the unconquerable spirit of the martyrs and was bred in us. This is what the flag means to us. Its stars symbolize our trust in God; its blue field our noble purpose; its white bars the high courage of a spotless patriotism without the stain of murder, of revenge, or of war for greed; its red bars the courage that dares all in support of the right. These ideals are summed up in one word—Americanism. And guided by our true patriotism, you may depend upon it, we need not fear anything, because being right we shall be twice armed and unconquerable. This is the kind of patriotism we are standing for in America, a kind that knows no fear. We dare to have this kind of patriotism, this kind of courage, this kind of humanity and this kind of sanity—in America.

A PLEA FOR LOYALTY TO THE GOVERNMENT.

From an Address at Campbell College, Holton, June 2, 1915.

As you know, I have raised my voice constantly and emphatically against the folly and wickedness of war. I was brought up a Quaker. A fine Quaker father and mother taught me that war as a method of settling disputes between nations was barbarous—uncivilized—and so for many years I have advocated the gospel of peace.

I have talked against war because I considered it a wrong against the masses of the people who do the fighting and who must stand the brunt of battle and make the sacrifices. War is a senseless, irrational way to settle difficulties between nations.

War is not to be undertaken until all reasonable means

have failed. But the ruthless conduct of the German Kaiser in deliberately sinking American vessels, in taking the lives of innocent American citizens in disregard of the rights of humanity, is so unjustifiable, so indefensible, so criminal, that all patriotic citizens feel our government can no longer condone it without loss of a self-respect for life and liberty that is dearer than life itself. If we would maintain American honor and American traditions, we must defend them and ourselves against these murderous assaults on human life and human rights.

I believe this to be the hour of greatest trial in our existence as a nation—the gravest crisis that ever has confronted us. We must keep our heads. We must not be stampeded by passion, nor by rash counsel. Above all things we must stand together.

Kansans abhor war. They have been and will continue to be staunch advocates of peace. But first of all we are loyal Americans, and I know that this state, irrespective of birthplace, and regardless of party affiliations or of political creeds, will uphold the President and Congress in this crisis and give loyal support to the government at Washington.

The flag has a deep and holy meaning to every Kansan. No Kansan ever has flinched in his duty as a patriotic American and never will. As a state we shall acquiesce in whatever may be the wishes of the national government. And whenever the call may come, and whatever the order may be for the protection and defense of national interests and the rights of humanity, Kansas will respond unitedly, promptly, loyally, fearlessly and fervently. God help us in this trying hour.

MUST REVISE STATE'S BUSINESS METHODS

*From an Address to Harvey County Republicans at Annual
Banquet at Newton, Kan., Nov. 20, 1914.*

My friends, I want to say a few words about some of the problems which confront us Kansas people as a state, and about what I hope, with the sympathy and co-operation of good citizens without regard to political party, to accomplish as your public servant in the next two years. I have no panacea to offer you for our political ills. I have no pet schemes to put thru and no revolutionary measures to propose. All that I hope to accomplish is to bring to the administration of your public system, modern business methods and to do the very best that we can do under existing conditions.

I believe we all will admit that the machinery of government—state government, county government, and municipal government, as it exists in Kansas today is not entirely ideal. It is expensive and cumbersome, as is amply attested by the fact that in the last ten years the total expense of the government for the state of Kansas has increased from 16 million dollars a year to more than 30 million dollars, while population has but slightly increased, and this without any conspicuous graft or corrupt deals, without any public official pilfering from the treasury. We have, of course, received some benefits from the increased taxes. We have built up many institutions which are a credit to the state, but no man will dare say that the people of Kansas in the last ten years have received 100 per cent benefit from the money they have paid in taxes.

In my opinion, many changes must be made in our system of government. As a state, we must follow the example set by the great railway systems and business corporations

in adopting modern scientific business methods, in the elimination of useless positions and in requiring the very highest efficiency on the part of every public servant. And this is not the work of a day, or even of one administration. It requires study of the most scientific nature, and statesmanship of the highest order; all prompted and backed by a determination to give the people of the state the best system of government that can be devised for them. Other states of the Union are taking up this big problem and studying it, are investigating and experimenting; and Kansas must step into line and revise her business methods, taking advantage of everything which will promote efficiency and economy. And, this work must extend throughout our entire system, from the governor in the state house down to the township trustee.

Kansas needs many things which cost money. The standard of our rural schools must be raised and our state educational institutions kept on a par with those of any state in the Union. We must improve, as rapidly as possible, our public roads and highways. Kansas could profitably use ten times the money that our tax levy provides, but there is a time for all things and I do not believe that the people of Kansas are in any mood to sanction larger expenditures at this time or heavy investments for the future. The world is going thru one of the great crises in its history. The business of the world has been demoralized to an extent that we in prosperous, sun-warmed, God-favored Kansas do not realize. We in Kansas have felt only the outermost effects of the terrible disaster which is convulsing the world; we do not appreciate the suffering, the want and the woe which have settled like a pall of night upon the greater part of the civilized world.

We are not niggardly but with the uncertainties that the future holds, even to the most optimistic of us, it behooves us to conserve our resources, to retrench in every possible way in our expenditures, and to bide our time in faith and trust that conditions will brighten and things be better

in the near future. I am not pessimistic; I do not think that America is due for a period of business depression. On the contrary, I do not see how we can fail eventually to profit by the folly and wickedness of the European nations who have brought this awful woe upon the world. But, Kansas as a state is in no position to gamble on the future, and I believe that this is the year of all years to use the pruning knife on appropriations; to eliminate every useless public position; to see to it that men who are elected to perform certain duties perform them themselves instead of delegating them to assistants; and in short, to get down to an economic basis in public affairs just as the business man does, just as the housewife does, just as the farmer does when hard times overtake them.

It shall be my effort to establish such a policy in our public business, and I ask the earnest co-operation of the people of Kansas as a whole, and especially of the members of the Republican party, in this work. We Republicans in the state and in the nation lost the confidence of the people two years ago and were "fired from our jobs"; in the meantime, we have healed the differences in our own ranks and the people have given evidence of a renewed faith in us. But, we are on trial and we must make good, and make good as a party in the next two years prior to the Presidential campaign of 1916. I believe we are going to do it. I believe it is the earnest desire of every Republican in the state of Kansas that we do this and I am counting on their heartiest and fullest co-operation. Your governor cannot do it all alone, he must have his party behind him; he must have the whole people of the state behind him. Our effort today must be to bring into concerted action all who are earnestly intent upon combating the social and political evils, and on abolishing the inefficient systems that curse the world—all who would speed the progress of decency and purity and honesty and justice and peace and righteousness and brotherhood among men.

And so I have come here as one who is deeply interested

with you in everything that pertains to the welfare of the great state of Kansas; to join with you this evening in a pledge that we shall keep up the good fight for human progress, for loftier ideals, for a square deal and exact justice for every citizen, for the sacred things and the vitally necessary things which so deeply concern its welfare; that we shall strive unceasingly to quicken the public sense of Christian duty and public duty, and do our part, be it large or small, in making our beloved state a little cleaner, a little more decent, a little happier, a little more God-like.

NEED OF COMMON HONESTY

*From an Address at LeLoup, Kan., Modern Woodmen
Picnic, Aug. 24, 1916.*

When we get right down to it, what this country needs, my friends, is fewer laws, the strict and straight enforcement of all laws, more righteousness in the court house, the purification and reform of our system of jurisprudence—and finally—more real men, men of sterling integrity as well as ability in all walks of life, and saner, simpler, truer, higher standards of living, as a people and as a nation.

We need—not more laws—but straight, honest, aggressive, impartial enforcement of the laws we have. Less technicality and quibbling in our courts. Speedier justice and cheaper justice.

How many poor men and poor widows are there who have learned, thru bitter experience, that we have blood-sucking public leeches who fatten off of the misfortunes of poor men and poor widows; that we have public officials, lawyers and courts which, apparently, make it a business, by means of many fees, or by long expensive legal processes, to consume all the property or money that these courts or lawyers can get within their clutches. And we all know

how potent and how all-prevailing in court is the long pocketbook and the smart lawyer.

We need a system which shall make it impossible for shrewd and tricky lawyers to thwart the plain intent of the law and delay the administration of justice.

We want laws made so plain, so simple, so direct that the humblest citizen, as well as the most powerful corporation may know them, and understand them and respect them and obey them.

What we need is more old-fashioned common honesty in the court room; more plain common sense and even-handed justice between man and man.

DOLLAR FOR DOLLAR GOVERNMENT

From a Speech Made at Lawrence, Kan., During the 1914 Political Campaign.

I am for a policy of strictest economy in public expenditures; the elimination of all extravagant appropriations, big and little; for a reduction in the number of job-holders wherever possible; for wiping out useless boards and bureaus, and all the unnecessary jobs usually created for political purposes.

We don't want to be niggardly and miserly—but just provide a full measure of plenty and stop there. The people of Kansas are not stingy. They want their state to rank with any in the Union in all things that tend to make a people happy and prosperous; but they want and are entitled to, and must and will have, a dollar's worth of genuine service, a dollar's worth of actual value, for every dollar of the people's money expended.

I am not here as a faultfinder or pessimist. I rejoice that the world is growing better every day. Our government is on a higher plane than ever before, but it does seem to me that we still have too many useless and foolish laws, tinkered and patched by journeymen jobbers, too much legislation framed in dark corners; too many secret cau-

cuses at Washington and Topeka—where the crack of the party whip is heard; too much of the public business hidden from the light of day. There has been too much political jockeying and “tomfoolery” in the legislature, too much playing football with public measures for mere partisan advantage while the people’s interests suffered.

There have been too many pardons and paroles, too many secret favors from judges and prosecuting officers for men of wealth and political pull.

Our need is not more laws, but greater respect for those we now have; aggressive and impartial enforcement of those laws, not for the little fellow alone, but also for the higher-up grafters and the powerful and influential offenders, who exploit the public for millions; a system that will abolish all the senseless forms, the foolish technicalities, the absurd delays and the outrageous court costs that now make justice a farce; a system that will imprison big thieves as well as little thieves, and guarantee fair play and an equal chance in the world for every human being.

We must beware of noisy demagogues, human fire-brands, theoretical dreamers and violent fanatics, who teach the philosophy of discontent, who sow the seeds of social strife, who preach the doctrines of riot and disorder.

We must be fair; we must be just with big business that is honest and obeys the laws of our country. But big business must be made to understand at all times that right and justice and humanity cannot and will not be overpowered by the brute force of wealth and greed and oppressive monopoly.

The most vital of all our problems is that which concerns the waste of human life. Especially must we encourage every welfare measure, every educational movement, tending to human conservation and development of the best type of manhood and womanhood. We are paying out 3½ million dollars every day in this country for punishing crime. In Kansas we spend annually three-quarters of a million dollars to house, feed and clothe unfortunate delin-

quents. The whole spirit of this advancing helpful age is in the future to prevent rather than to punish crime; to prevent rather than to doctor vice; to raise the standard of citizenship, not only in the interest of good morals but as an economic measure, and to make our cities and our state better for the whole family to live in.

I live in a city which consumes less intoxicating liquor than any other city of 50,000 in this big world; more than that, it has, according to the official statistics, less crime, less illiteracy, less poverty and less immorality than any other city of 50,000 people—the result, I believe, of the strict enforcement of the prohibitory law. For that reason I hope to see a nation-wide prohibition law which will banish the saloon from every state in the Union.

I want to see better and stronger rural and grade schools for the benefit of the vast number of young people in Kansas unable to obtain the advantages of higher education; for more attention to the fundamental and practical in education, adjusting the schools to the vital needs of the people and to meet the actual problems of every-day life. We appropriate over a million dollars a year for our colleges, and it is money well spent, but we should not forget that 95 per cent of the children of this state never see the inside of a college. We must have education that fits not alone the few for the life they are to live, but an education that will fit the many, the great body of the common people, the bone and sinew of the state, for what they will undertake, that will make bread-winners rather than dreamers of the children of Kansas, and give them an equal show in the race of life.

MAKE POLITICS SERVE THE PEOPLE.

*From an Address Before the Emporia Republican Club,
November, 1914.*

I am a candidate for governor because I believe the state needs for the next two years a clean-cut, straight-from-the-

shoulder business government and a governor who isn't afraid of anything or anybody, who believes from the crown of his head to the sole of his feet in an absolutely square deal, and who has the nerve to see that the people of Kansas get a square deal. I am not afraid to be that kind of a governor. Whether elected governor or not, it will always be my purpose to work for every measure, no matter by what political party it is proposed, which makes government cleaner, more efficient, more economical, and which will guarantee to every man and woman in Kansas fair play and equal opportunity. I wish you to know that I come before the people of the state absolutely free. I am carrying no political burdens or obligations. I do not care to be elected governor, if to be elected I must enter into any relations whatever with any person, any political faction, or any business interests which make it impossible for me to serve the public honestly. When I cannot be honest in politics, I shall get out of politics.

We must not forget that that state is greatest, that nation is greatest, which does most for its people. I am proud to support the present-day program which places humanity above the dollar; which inaugurates those vitally constructive measures, social, moral, educational and economic, that are destined to lift all humanity to a higher level; which demands for every individual, for the common man, no matter what his condition, color, or creed, a man's chance, the right to an equal opportunity, a fair field and no favors. It's a program, my friends, which means much for the cause of justice, for the helpless, the unfortunate and the wronged, for the betterment of mankind, for better homes, better schools, better boys and girls duly trained for life's work, for the enactment of higher civic ideals, for an honest, clean and decent administration of public affairs—a program which is worthy the consecrated effort of every citizen of Douglas county who demands a square

deal for himself and who is willing to accord a square deal to his neighbor and his associates.

Friends, there is one thought which is appealing with constantly increasing force to men and women all over America. It is that we have got to bring government closer to the people; that we must end misrule; that we must stop making government a plaything for politicians and bosses, but rather a business and a science. We must use our politics to help the people and not to loot and exploit them.

This responsibility comes right home to every one of us, not next year but now and will for years to come. It is a responsibility no thoughtful, earnest man or woman will shirk.

“There are no rights against the people’s rights.” There are no interests against the interests of God and humanity. These are our interests and this our cause and problem. Let us go to it Kansas fashion. We need the help of every man and woman in Kansas to make our politics good politics. We need the help of every man and woman in Douglas county to make our government good government. I urge it upon you earnestly—religiously—to come together and join in a deeply patriotic crusade for a better—and a finer—and a more militant citizenship in township, county, state and nation; that we may indeed have a government for and by the people—for all the people—and for them alone.

I have faith that the Republican party of Kansas, actuated by this common cause—with vision to see and with courage to execute—will gather up the common patriotism, the common courage and the common righteousness of the common people of this state and organize it into a militant, progressive, disciplined force which forever more will rescue Kansas from spoilsmen domination and Democratic misrule, and give impetus and momentum to this great national movement for better government and the advancement of the race.

GOVERNMENTAL EXTRAVAGANCE AND USELESS OFFICES

From a 1914 Campaign Speech at Osage City, Kan.

The rapidly increasing cost of government and the high cost of living are the biggest questions now confronting the country, and they are problems that must soon be solved. The whole American public seems wild with spending. We are living high, in the family, in the town, and as a state and nation.

A Democratic Congress has just framed up another river and harbor pork barrel graft of 53 million dollars—the largest in our history—an increase of 6 million over any previous appropriation—for rivers that float no ships and harbors that shelter no commerce—not a dollar of which comes to Kansas.

Twenty-five years ago it cost less than \$700,000 to run the entire Kansas state government for a year. Tho the population since then has not quite doubled, the cost now of running the business of the state is six times greater—or more than 4½ millions a year now as against \$700,000 twenty-five years ago.

Now do not misunderstand me: I am not going to indulge in any of the demagogic clap-trap about high taxes which is the chief stock in trade of the cheap politician. You hardly ever hear of a man running for office who does not make profuse promises about reducing taxes—promises that are easily made and more easily forgotten.

I need not remind you that the leaders of the Democratic party of Kansas went up and down the state in the campaign of two years ago upon a platform of buncombe and humbug, charging the Republicans with reckless extravag-

agance and waste, promising the people of this state a "98 to 2" business administration, and a reduction of 25 per cent in state taxes. But when given absolute control of the executive and legislative branches of the state government, the Democratic party made more offices and more taxes; increased the appropriations a half million dollars more than ever before in the history of the state, created seven new boards and commissions, added 294 clerks, inspectors and other employes, and increased the state payroll over \$10,000 a month.

I should consider it the greatest honor that could possibly come to me—as great an honor as could possibly come to any man—to be the first native Kansan elected governor of this state, and to be the first governor elected by the votes of the intelligent women of this commonwealth. But, I do not want that honor, if to obtain it, it is necessary for me to go up and down this state appealing to the prejudices of the people, or making wild and extravagant promises which are impossible to fulfill. No matter how beautiful or how alluring the promises I may make to you here today, if you elect me to the governorship and I could not deliver the goods, it were far better that I never had thought of being your governor.

I do not promise to reduce your taxes, but I can and do promise that if I am elected governor of this state, I will to the best of my ability see to it that every dollar of the state's money shall be expended honestly and economically and that taxes are held to the lowest possible figure. I do promise you that I shall keep out of the public trough the cheap politicians, the office hucksters, the tax-eaters and the swarm of parasites who throng around the state house from the very first day of an administration looking for a chance to graft upon the public treasury, because of some imaginary political service they may have rendered.

The professional politician, especially the spoils-seeking politician of the Democratic party, which still does business on the old spoils-system plan, will always be found fighting

to maintain the old order of things, fighting to perpetuate the game of grab, fighting to keep out those reforms which would surely destroy his grip, fighting against open-and-above-board, clean-cut, business methods of handling the people's business, and he will have his way every time if the patriotic citizenship does not wake up and stay awake.

So I stand for a more practical, a more business-like system of state, county, city and township government divorced from cheap politics—a system that will simplify and consolidate the public business, do away with waste, inefficiency and graft, and cut down the expense of conducting public affairs.

ROTTEN RECEIVERSHIPS AND DISRESPECT FOR LAW

*From an Address to the State Anti-Horsethief Association,
Parsons, Kan., January 5, 1916.*

In America—in Kansas—more than anywhere else on earth, we are born free and equal. But the greatest guarantee of our equality, of our personal opportunity, and of our personal and community rights, is the law. Whenever the administration of the law or the enforcement of the law is lax, or corrupt, the man who suffers most because of this laxness or this corruption is always the poorer man. He is the man whose rights we must jealously guard, the other man can take pretty good care of himself. If we can be reasonably sure that the most defenseless man is getting a square deal and a fair show, we can be very certain that all is well with the rest of the world.

We are convinced that a republic is the best, the fairest, the most just, the most advanced form of government on earth. We have ample proof of it. We cannot be made the victims of petty kings and led to slaughter as have been

our helpless brothers in Europe. For this reason more responsibility rests upon every man of us—and in Kansas—every woman, too.

In a republic such as ours, no citizen can afford to go to sleep in regard to public matters, or become apathetic. He must watch his public servants, size-up his public men, ruthlessly weed out the unfit, stand for and compel the strictest enforcement of law, that even-handed justice be done to all men. He must jealously guard his courts, his public institutions, and get behind and push every good measure and every faithful official. He must think and act for himself. Even tho he may and probably will make mistakes—if he reads and keeps as well informed as he can about public affairs in his neighborhood, his township, his county, state and nation, he will much oftener be right than wrong. The great danger lies in procrastinating, in putting off these public duties, or neglecting them. We have had some terrible reckonings to settle because of such neglect. One instance was our Civil War. In our more recent recollection the people of this country have narrowly escaped becoming mere voting machines because powerful interests were virtually-in control of our political machinery. Fortunately we saw our danger and began kicking off the shackles with which we were being bound.

We have yet plenty of evidence that we are not entirely out of the clutches of big predatory interests. We still have men, and groups of men, who plan and carry out lobbying campaigns in state legislatures and in Congress. By reason of their great wealth and “working” affiliations with other great interests, they are powerful and compelling and control many channels of influence. They are consummately skillful and cunning in using these advantages to their own ends.

We still have men of this class, who in the secrecy of their private offices, plan with the keenest lawyers, men long trained in such work, how they may violate the law and evade its penalties, or weaken or nullify its enforcing.

These men are the rebate makers, the corporationists who lower the price of products to destroy competition; who foment strikes in the mills of their competitors; who make trade agreements and fix prices; who put up stock-jobbing schemes. They are one of the most potent influences in the lax enforcement, or the paralysis of law; in the corrupting of legislators and public servants. Largely because of their machinations, and a public that trusts too much to its servants, forgetting that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, we have come too dangerously near the condition of having one law for the rich and another law for the poor. The hope of the producer, of the consumer, of the man who labors, lies in an aroused and sustained determination on the part of every citizen to strengthen our institutions and build up respect for law.

Instead of more thoroly and watchfully doing our duty as citizens, in weeding the rascals out, and looking after our courts, we have piled up laws to regulate almost every abuse, only to have these laws punched full of holes, jokered into uselessness, or to start off on one of those long legal processions thru the courts by which justice usually is tired out.

We need courts and judges and a system of jurisprudence that will act with the same promptness as the post-office. And they should serve the public as inexpensively as possible, for we should make justice so free that the poor man will never be debarred from its protection, and the law's delays be used to break his back and perpetuate an injustice. To face our greatest enemy and save ourselves from destruction, our need is more efficient and honest judges and other public officials, and a citizenship that is constantly on the job.

In every system of government there are the constructive and the destructive elements. The constructive element stands for law enforcement without equivocation, or favor, in the interest of a square deal for every citizen, rich or poor; for an honest, efficient public service that will do

no more for the big citizen and the big corporation than it will do for the little citizen and the little corporation; for courts that will be stone blind and immovable to every issue and consideration save justice.

The destructive element constantly seeks to exploit the people to its own personal advantage, to prostitute courts, legislators, the public service and public institutions to its own ends regardless of all other consequences.

Both of these elements have conducted a perpetual warfare in the affairs of men, since history began, and are fighting for or against us at this very hour. Our greatest weapon of offense and defense is our own political intelligence, and discussion, and publicity. Our safety lies in turning on the light, opening the doors, having all public matters done in the open, that the people may have knowledge of them. Nothing that is straight and square need fear the scrutiny of the people. No honest man has anything to fear from them, and by these means we shall compel the dishonest public official to become honest. I might go even farther and say that the only enemies this country need fear already have landed. They are public graft, the pork barrel, a decadent and sometimes corrupt legal system and the poor management and wasteful conduct of public business.

Perhaps our greatest weakness as a nation is our lack of respect for law. This is not to be wondered at when it appears that our courts and our great corporations may evade and ignore or impede the law with impunity, whenever and wherever they see fit. We have seen, over and over again, a fatal paralysis overtake justice when a smart lawyer and a long pocketbook were in the case and only law and justice and a smaller pocketbook were on the other side to oppose them.

We have repeatedly seen our courts pay outrageous and enormously excessive fees to attorneys and receivers, and even to public officials, in receivership cases, altho knowing even better than we know that these big fees,

finally, must come out of the pockets of the people. And knowing, even better than we know, that the people can neither defend themselves nor run—the chance the highwayman gives them if he holds them up—but many only stand and deliver in the name of the law.

When so little respect is shown for law, for fair play, for justice, by the officers and servants of justice, need we be surprised to find these things in some cynical disrepute among us as a people?

When a legal officer of the state may accept an additional fee of \$8,325 in a receivership for services rendered the state, altho the state is at the same time paying him a salary in full for his services, why should we expect the average man to feel he, too, cannot be a little careless about the spirit or the letter of the law whenever it may profit him or suit him to feel so?

I have been impelled to say these things to you because of the recent reports made to the Kansas Utilities Commission showing the excessive fees paid to lawyers, to receivers and to one state official, in the receivership of the Kansas Natural Gas company.

By its own plea this is a bankrupt corporation, a public utility doing business at a loss and unable longer to supply gas to consumers on the terms of its original contract with the people of Kansas.

Yet this presumably failing corporation has been compelled to deliver nearly \$300,000 as fees to receivers and attorneys which the gas users, representing a large number of the citizens of Kansas, will have to pay.

We have recently learned that in the Kansas Natural Gas case twenty-one lawyers and receivers participated in this grab, some of them receiving as high as \$22,000.

The total cost of this brief receivership, which the people ultimately will have to pay, is nearly one-third of a million dollars! And a court has sanctioned it!

We now find the state receivers in this case—receivers

appointed by a Kansas court—resisting the efforts of the state to restore this public utility to service. Instead of clearing up the company's difficulties, closing up its affairs in court, ending the great expense of this litigation, and restoring the company to something like normal business efficiency, these receivers are sparring with legal technicalities and attempting to prolong the litigation by returning the company to the federal court where further costs and expenses may be piled up.

Lawyers to right of them. Lawyers to left of them. Lawyers in front of them, behind and all around them, like a pack of hungry wolves trailing a hamstrung steer, this is the position of the Kansas Natural Gas company and the people of Kansas. The lawyers by raising "a federal question" now have the receivership case in the federal courts and further rich picking in fees and emoluments will be added to the hundreds of thousands already bled from the public. Meantime the whole Middle-West is receiving such a lesson on the venality and decadence of some of its courts and forms of law that a way to protect the public from such betrayal and legalized robbery in future impresses the people as imperative.

Lawyer's fees in receivership cases are as lawful and honorable as the wages of a workingman, says one of the receivers in the Kansas Gas deal.

They are lawful. They also are exorbitant, excessive, and extortionate. No workingman ever gets more than the scale of his day's wage and in service must render full value for that. Nor are twenty-one workmen ever employed on any job that two or three can readily perform. Big fees in receiverships come within the law, it is true, but the public recognizes as unmistakably as ever, nevertheless, that these fees are a form of legalized graft and legalized extortion, and that it is the victim.

"I feel that two receivers are not necessary. I am an operating railroad man, not a lawyer," wrote H. U. Mudge

in tendering his resignation to the federal judge who appointed him one of the receivers of the Rock Island.

What do the four receivers and the fifteen assistant receivers of the Kansas Natural Gas company think of the Mudge idea? One receiver is enough for a giant corporation like the Rock Island, but it took twenty-one legal wet nurses to minister to the infant gas company. Mr. Mudge is an expert railroad administrator, there is no higher authority on railroads in America. Also he is an expert judge of what is actually required of a receiver.

When a great corporation goes on the rocks, some man or group of men has scuttled it. During the reign of law and lawlessness in big business, we have seen looted corporations stagger to their feet and once more become healthy and vigorous, only to be robbed again and laid low. That day is passing and with it must pass that form of legal pillage appropriately called receiverships. It was intended that bankrupt business should be nursed back to health by these officers of the courts, not betrayed, sand-bagged, robbed and done to death in the refuge of the law, by men posing as friends and preservers.

While I have condemned unsparingly the evil that is done in courts, I should be doing very wrong to intimate, or to seem to say, that only evil is done there, for of course they do far more good than harm and I do not wish my remarks to be construed as a wholesale attack upon them. The majority of our courts, I think, are doing their utmost to deal out even-handed justice. It is the system that is most at fault. It is not infallible and too often a court, forgetful of its plain duty to the state and its people, stands for these indefensible extravagant receiverships. It is these courts that I am condemning.

But so long as the courts of law make receiverships a public license to grab, there will be small respect for the administration of law in the United States and no illusions about the uncertainties of justice. Both bench and bar

have so frequently and so flagrantly betrayed the highest trust a people can delegate to its representatives, that I fear it will take a generation of true service to bring back the confidence the people once had in their courts and judges.

The judges and attorneys and receivers who participate in this graft seem to have no sense of decency, no feeling of shame when it comes to appropriating money to their own use, which they are presumed to hold as a sacred trust.

The court managing this business is supposed to stand guard over the people's interest. Yet, without protest, actually with its sanction, it allowed the treasury of the bankrupt company to be raided and looted under the guise of special services rendered by receivers and attorneys.

It simply is a species of robbery. Indeed, I have more respect for the bank robber or the burglar, who must risk his life, than for the public official who hides behind the law and participates in this kind of legalized extortion.

Graft has for too long been permitted to intrench itself in our public institutions, in our court houses, in our city halls, and—God save the mark—in our courts of justice, there openly, shamelessly and brazenly to exact and compel tribute from all comers. We must close these avenues of easy money where the public is robbed, and quit putting a premium on such infamous dishonesty by tamely submitting to it, by saying or doing nothing to prevent it.

This outrageous plundering of the public virtually by its own servants should not be possible. If our laws are inadequate, they must be strengthened. I say to you frankly that I propose to use all the power of the governor, as long as I am in office, to forever put a stop to these get-rich-quick schemes at the expense of the public.

A POLITICAL PARTY'S DUTY

*From an Address to the Kansas Day Club, Topeka, Kan.,
January 29, 1915.*

Since I last met with my friends of the Kansas Day Club, a great honor, a new and weighty obligation and probably the chief place of trial and many troubles has come to me. I shall try mightily not to disappoint the people of Kansas who have bestowed upon me this great honor, nor the Republicans of Kansas who gave me my splendid majority. I recognize the great debt I owe to the Republican party—the party of which I have been proud to be a member all my life—and I am sincere in my desire and intention to advance by every means in my power the great principles for which the Republican party has always stood.

But, speaking to you Republicans of Kansas, as Republican to Republicans, as Kansan to Kansans, I feel that I am but voicing the wish in your heart when I tell you, with all the sincerity and all the earnestness at my command, that the better Republican I am, the more closely we Republicans now in control of the state government can follow the political ideals of Abraham Lincoln and the founders of our party of Liberty and Justice, and the nearer we shall come to giving the people of Kansas a clean, decent, honest, economical administration of public affairs, and the nearer we shall come to assuring an equal opportunity and an absolutely square deal in every department of life to every man, woman and child within the borders of our state—then, my fellow Republicans, we shall best serve our party by best serving our state.

I believe we Republicans all have, somewhere within us,

a deep and patriotic purpose—each in his own way as light and opportunity is given him—to promote the good name and fame of Kansas by further perfecting its government and its institutions so that the people may make that material and moral and spiritual progress toward high efficiency, thrift and right living that makes a state and its people truly great and truly happy. To such a people is given leadership among peoples, a greater part, a greater honor, a greater destiny in the world and a greater influence among the states of the Union.

Kansas Republicans have shown such leadership as this in many things, and for almost half a century. We have a magnificent record of advanced, progressive, constructive legislation. We have in the state house today what I believe to be one of the most sane, most capable, most industrious lawmaking bodies ever assembled in Kansas. I believe the legislative department of the state government is conscientiously and earnestly trying to keep faith with the people. I earnestly hope we are going to get results. I am myself deeply interested in every measure which will promote efficiency and economy in state and local government. We don't want to be stingy; we don't want to cripple any state institution, but this is the year of all years to apply the pruning knife to extravagant and unnecessary appropriations, to eliminate every useless board and every useless inspector, and all unnecessary jobs of every kind and description.

Therefore, as a citizen, and as a Republican, and as a public servant, I ask for your faithful and loyal support in the effort we are making to put Kansas well to the front in the forward-looking movement toward better government, more economical government, and toward a more efficient, more conscientious public service, the key to all future progress.

I ask your assistance as Kansans and as Republicans to help Kansas and the Kansas people to a finer statesmanship and a greater statehood. It is not a one-man's job,

nor a hundred men's task, but a responsibility that rests on all of us, and I have the utmost faith that Kansas Republicans are not going to shirk that responsibility.

Without any reference to my personal part in it, I want to congratulate you Republicans and the people of Kansas upon the far-reaching effect of the recent state election. The results were far more important than the mere election to office of any individual or set of individuals.

As Republicans we have reason to rejoice that we have demonstrated our ability to iron out our differences of opinion and unite once more under the banner of the party of progress and patriotism.

We have reason to rejoice that the people of Kansas have shown that they still have faith in the eternal principles which have ever been the guiding star of the Republican party, and have renewed their allegiance to the party that brought Kansas into the world, mothered her thru the dark and trying days of her infancy, and by wise and patriotic and loving care, has brought her thus far in her glorious career. The future never gave brighter promise. We are in position to enter the campaign of 1916—of which last November's battle was only the preliminary skirmish—with full confidence of rolling up next year an old time Republican majority for a Republican President and eight Republican members of Congress from Kansas.

THE PORK BARREL.

From a Speech at Americus Farmers Union, July 28, 1916.

Our highest-priced luxury in this country is the public "pork" barrel. Every year, every day, every hour, it is costing us nearly as much as the actual necessary expenses of government. It has made our public service from top to bottom, from township to state, from state to nation, the

most wasteful, the most extravagant, the most expensive public service in the world, with the possible exception of graft-ridden Russia. Almost half our state and national funds are openly dissipated, squandered, thrown away, in the colossal system of bribery and vote-buying called the pork barrel, and it isn't even given so hard a name as stealing.

A Congressman, a Senator, a legislator of the state wishes to please the people in a certain part of his district. How does he do it? He arranges to give them large sums of money at every session of Congress or of the legislature, and a particularly large sum if it is a campaign year. He doesn't give it to them out of hand, of course, nor out of his own pocket, which would be against the law. He gets it out of the public funds raised by taxation. He either gets far too big an appropriation for some public institution, or public enterprise in his district; or if he hasn't such an enterprise or institution, he begins logrolling, lobbying, swapping his vote for the votes of his fellow members until they vote with him to establish one. Henceforth this is his "pork." All he has to do thereafter is to vote for their pork schemes and they will vote for his. And so the pork barrel grows.

Two years ago, among other things, the pork barrel gave us a rivers and harbors bill at Washington of 100 millions. Only newspaper attacks from North and South prevented its passage at that figure. It gave us a public buildings bill of 45 millions. In Kansas pork legislation led to greater appropriations than any legislature had ever passed before. I was severely criticised in some quarters for cutting these appropriations a quarter of a million dollars, which was the full extent I was empowered by law to cut them. But I would do it again today, or tomorrow, and every day, so long as these appropriations needed pruning; for we never shall learn to spend public money well and carefully in this country until we are compelled to make a

public dollar work as hard as a private dollar, and one way for us to learn this is to limit, not increase the number of dollars.

It is pork, more than anything else, that makes state and national appropriations continue to pile up. Pork gave us a billion dollar Congress years before we actually needed one. Pork builds \$60,000 postoffice buildings in \$5,000 towns. It gives us a small army at the price of a big one. It gives us a third or fourth rate navy at the price of a first-class one. Pork welcomes and insistently urges larger and larger appropriations for army and navy, for preparedness, and for everything else while recklessly squandering the plenty it has. Pork has made it cost us \$20,000 to make a soldier at West Point, and \$11,000 to educate a sailor at Annapolis. Pork squanders millions of millions of public funds uselessly decade after decade and insistently demands more and still more.

The remedy is a budget system which will authorize the executive to present to the legislature a carefully prepared schedule of the needs of the state—a schedule that cannot be increased by the legislature. With a budget system, running expenses, maintenance charges and estimates of needed improvements, will vary no more than they do in any well-conducted business, where the same authority is given to the executive to disallow or approve them as is given to the manager of every big business. This kind of a system will come just as soon as the people earnestly demand it, but it never will come until they do. This is one of the things I am working for in Kansas and want you to help me get.

TOO MUCH NEEDLESS LEGISLATION

From an Address at the Home-Coming Celebration at Eskridge, Kan., August 12, 1915.

There should be far more restraint in the creation of needless legislation. We have actual need of very little new legislation, from time to time, and that should be constructive legislation. And this new legislation should be most carefully studied and its probable effect understood, before it is passed. Furthermore, the meaning of every new statute should be so plainly, so simply and so directly expressed, that anyone may read and understand it. Our people must be spared this constant flood of confusing, contradictory, ridiculous and unnecessary laws.

It is to the credit of the recent legislature that it probably killed more bills than any similar body ever did in Kansas in the same length of time. Yet it passed 418 new laws. It passed 106 of them in the last 24 hours of the session.

Think of going it blind in this fashion, of the enormity, of the recklessness, of—I might almost say—the criminality—of legislating in this manner. How many members, do you suppose, knew what they were voting for?

How often do we find a personal motive or a private interest prompting the introducing of a bill; how often do we find members voting with small regard to the intent or effect of a measure; with the result that hastily-drawn, illy-considered, illy-advised measures are enacted into laws, cumber our statute books, breed litigation, and work hardships to a patient and long-suffering people.

I am a believer in the efficacy of law. But "all governments derive their just powers from the people"; and all law should be, and must be if it be effective, the expression

of the will of the governing people. Our laws which have as the object the abolition of vice and crime, never will rise in their intent and efficiency above the moral standards of the people.

As long as we, as individuals, look upon the brothel and the redlight district as a necessary evil; as long as we think prohibition possible in rural Kansas but impossible in our great cities; as long as we look upon petty grafts and favoritism as a necessary incident of the administration of public affairs; as long as we are indifferent to public morals and the enforcement of law—just so long are we going to have vice and crime and graft and all their attendant penalties.

You cannot relegate law enforcement and public morals and public efficiency altogether to your public officials, be they ever so capable and conscientious. Your civic duty is not confined to election day nor to the voting booth. You can't be a good citizen and confine your good citizenship to one day a year, any more than you can be a good Christian and confine your Christianity to one day a week. Kansas needs and America needs 365-day-a-year patriots. The forces of crime, the forces of vice, the forces of graft and corruption are on the job from January 1 until midnight on December 31. They never tire. They never sleep. We need men and women who are just as much in earnest, just as active, just as persevering, and just as determined for good government, for decency, for righteousness, as are our enemies determined for the overthrow of those things which exalt a nation.

I do not think we can find anywhere else on the face of the earth a million and three-quarters of people who will grade up so well; who are so responsive to the demands of decency and fairness, who have a greater respect for law or a more sincere desire for its enforcement. I believe the people of Kansas stand for law enforcement without fear or favor, without prejudice to any locality, or any individual, or any class.

It has been demonstrated in Kansas that the cities which

have received no revenue from vice have a lower tax rate than those cities which in the old days stuck to the last to the license-fining system. In this country our greatest public debt-maker has been the saloon and the saloon license. They have also been our greatest tax on thrift and prosperity. We now have in Kansas the finest retail business in the United States as one of the many benefits resulting from the enforcement of our prohibitory law. The strictest enforcement of this law is undoubtedly our best policy, and I know that a majority of the business men of Kansas hold that view. A strict and unremitting enforcement of the law is not only the best policy, but is best for the happiness of your people and best for the sobriety of your city. I assure you that this administration will do everything in its power to assist in the enforcement of this law.

Your effort today must be to keep up the good fight—to bring into united and concerted action all who are earnestly intent on combating the evils that curse the world, and who would speed the progress of decency and purity and justice and peace and righteousness and brotherhood among men.

INEFFICIENT STATE GOVERNMENT

From a Labor Day Address, Columbus, Kan., Sept. 6, 1915.

While the primary idea of unionism may have been the simple matter of greater justice between the employe and the employer, the securing of better wages, shorter hours, and better conditions for the laborer, I think the larger idea of unionism has expanded far beyond that. The union probably has no place in partisan politics; but union men, as all laboring men, are intensely interested in "politics" in its broad and true sense. Your interest in the biennial sessions of the state legislature, your interest in the sessions of Congress, are not confined merely to the securing of the

passage of some pet measure, or some piece of special legislation which is going to benefit you and your fellow workmen. Your interest is deeper and broader than that. You must concern yourself as a good citizen and as a good union man, with every problem that confronts the people of Kansas and the American people as a whole. You are vitally interested in every phase of your state government; because the enormous waste, the reckless extravagance, the wicked graft which so often characterize the administration of government, are all direct taxes upon you and your pocketbook. You pay the cost of graft and inefficiency and extravagance. You may not be able to put your finger on the time or the manner of the payment, but none the less it is the producers who are compelled to foot the bill.

I am not a croaker. I have never been a muckraker. Neither am I blind to the abuses that have crept into our governmental system. No man who is honest with himself can deny that in many respects our present system is criminally wasteful and woefully inefficient. I am glad, however, to believe that the intelligence and conscience of America is finally aroused and that the American people are going to right some of the mistakes we have made in the past. To me the most interesting feature of the recent conference of governors at Boston which I attended, was the discussion of the high cost of state government and the methods best adapted to conducting the public business in an economical and efficient manner. An entire day was given to this subject. It developed that more than half the states of the Union are studying the wastefulness, inefficiency and irresponsibility of the present system of state government and are proposing remedies.

The cause of the trouble undoubtedly is fundamental. It was conceded by everyone at the conference that the present organization of the state's business relations and activities is antiquated, cumbersome, unsound and contrary to all good business methods. The result of this inefficient and unbusinesslike organization is extravagance and waste-

fulness in the expenditure of the people's money; a multitude of disconnected, unaffiliated departments, bureaus and boards, often unnecessary, and over which neither the governor nor the legislature nor the people have effective control. There is duplication of positions and salaries for the benefit of political grafters and incompetents; work poorly done; too many useless boards and inspectors; failure to fix and concentrate responsibility; failure to get before the legislature all the facts essential to appropriations and legislation; and excessive appropriations due to local clamor for public plunder and pork barrel politics in legislatures. We have these conditions in Kansas, and I find many other states cursed in the same manner.

Suggestions were offered at the Boston conference which go to the very root of state government, and which I believe are absolutely essential in carrying out any genuine economy and reform in finances and efficiency in administration. It was the opinion of the governors that the remedy lies in the wider use of the well known methods and the well tried mechanism which have proved successful in great business concerns; a more effective centralizing of administrative authority in the executive which will afford him a better opportunity to maintain constant scrutiny of public funds; and the vesting in the governor of the power of originating the legislative budget of appropriations.

The governor is popularly supposed to be the leader in the execution of public policies, and the people hold him directly responsible, but in most states, Kansas included, the executive is greatly handicapped so far as effective leadership, responsibility and administrative control are concerned. The executive work in the government of Kansas is divided among nearly one hundred departmental officers, boards and commissions, having administrative duties with slight provision for co-ordination and with less provisions for executive direction and control. Many of these departments and bureaus are as independent of the governor as they are of the President of the United States.

These boards constantly can interfere with the minutest details of state administration without assuming any open responsibility for its success.

Any partisan board of opposite political faith is given every inducement to play politics and make trouble for the administration, and has every opportunity at hand it could wish for, if it desires to balk reforms or discredit the administration or the policies of any governor.

The great weakness of this system which scatters authority among many boards and bureaus is that it leaves no one solely concerned with or responsible for the actual handling and management of the state's finances or for all the business of the state. Effective overhead control is impossible. Every officer, bureau and institution is naturally engaged in getting larger appropriations for his particular department. Every board and department is constantly seeking to enlarge its operations, but there is no one official solely concerned with cutting appropriations and expenditures and holding all public officers to account. Under such a system no governor can rightly be held wholly responsible for checking waste, extravagance, and inefficiency. No wonder, then, that appropriations grow larger year by year and that cost of government is increasing constantly, as long as these departments may act independently of any central executive. There should be opportunity for constant and informed criticism and scrutiny by the executive. All the departments should work immediately under the governor's eye at the problems of raising and disbursing state finances, the employment of men and women for state work, the purchase of supplies and other property used by the state, and in every possible way to keep him thoroly informed as to the state of the public business.

We greatly need, too, a budget system of appropriations that will enable the governor, if he is to be held responsible for the cost of government, to submit to the legislature in advance of its meeting, intelligent estimates of revenues and expenditures based upon carefully prepared data with

opportunity given to the legislature to reduce and strike out appropriations.

I am still as firmly convinced as I was when I said to the people in my inaugural address, that we shall not be able to check the waste of state revenues until we have reorganized and responsive machinery that will bring simplicity, efficiency and economy thru centralizing responsibility and authority.

THE GOLDEN RULE IN BUSINESS.

From an Address to the Business Men's Efficiency Convention at Wichita, Kan., Jan. 11, 1916.

I might spend all my time here this evening showing you that a governor under our present system is a very limited official, except when it comes to taking the blame. There is no limit to him there. He is pretty sure to be the goat, the scapegoat and buffer for everything that is not well done in the name of the state, and in regard to many of these things he has as much actual control as a notary public.

But I have not come down here to talk on that subject. Nor would I have you think that I am complaining about my job. I wasn't looking for any soft snap when I took it, nor expecting to find matters much different than I have found them. But I am striving to do this: I am striving to do everything in my power to bring about certain changes and reforms in our system and methods, so that Kansas can furnish machinery which will enable a governor, if he has a genuine desire to do so, to get the maximum of results for good. And let me tell you when things are lined up right in our system of public service, as at no greatly remote day I am confident they will be—by and with the support of a fully informed and intelligent

people—you are going to see the highest type of governmental efficiency in the world in the land that we live in and love.

We have the stuff in us to work out our destiny and lead the world to happier, better things, and I am satisfied we are going to do it sooner or later. What interests you and me is making sure that we shall not fail now to do our share. It is we who are in the harness. It is we who are doing the world's work today, and what an unfinished world it is.

I congratulate you on the fact that on every hand we find today the positive manifestation of the new spirit born of the quiet revolution that is permeating the whole business world; the definite acceptance of the new commercial philosophy that the Golden Rule pays and that truth and morality are the most profitable business tenets.

Truth is the central idea around which this great national movement in business is organized; the principle that honesty and morality are as essential to substantial commercial progress as they are to personal character.

Unquestionably the tendency of modern business is more and more in the direction of fair dealing and open-handed methods. The business man, the same as the public officer, is ceasing to skate on thin ice; more and more now he is asking himself, "Is this proposed transaction right and proper, as between man and man?" rather than "Can I put it over and keep out of the clutches of the law?" An aroused public conscience which is becoming increasingly insistent demands that the business world, newspapers as well as merchants, shall deal with the public as devoted, faithful servants of that public. It has made service the dominant note in modern business; has brought about a contempt of unclean methods, and an appreciation of the great truth that more and better business can be done upon the basis of the utmost good faith between buyer and seller.

Not so many years ago advertising, for instance, was to a more or less extent, a system of deceit and misrepresenta-

tion. The low moral standard that prevailed in business was tacitly expressed in the warning, "The buyer must look out for himself." A purchase was more like an old-fashioned horse trade, a contest of wits between buyer and seller, neither of whom had any compunctions about deceiving the other. Newspapers frequently published advertisements that were false, misleading and harmful, and it was left to the reader to sort the truth from the lies. It is different now. Conditions are not ideal, to be sure, but the best newspapers and business houses are "cleaning up." The whole character of advertising and business is rapidly changing. The standards of morality in the world of trade have advanced materially. The merchant has found that there is a higher purpose and a better profit than misbegotten dollars; that it pays from every viewpoint to tell the truth and win a permanent customer.

And there is a deep-rooted and growing desire on the part of the publishers, to accept the moral responsibility which unquestionably attaches itself to such a popular educator as the newspaper; a firmer conviction that the newspapers, acknowledged to be the most influential persuasive force in the country for exposing vice, for reproving recreant servants, for exhorting the people to recognize their civic responsibilities, must themselves come before the people with clean hands; that we who seek to lead the public should be heedful of our own footsteps; that we should practice what we preach; that our ethical purposes should be high and our business methods above criticism. I find a growing determination among the best newspapers thruout the country to eliminate the untruthful, the unclean and the dishonest from advertising and they have the hearty approval of the honest merchants. Conscious that it is their duty to protect the people against the designs of the advertising faker, the bogus mail promoter, the vender of harmful remedies, or the dishonest merchant, they will no longer accept advertising that is damaging to the physical, financial or moral conditions of their readers; but

will give the reader the truth in their advertising columns with the same fidelity that it is given in the news columns. And this helps honest business.

Public confidence is the one asset without which no merchant can succeed. Talking thru the medium of the daily press to tens of thousands of people is one of the greatest of all modern privileges, therefore a man's advertising should be as sincere as his personal correspondence, as inviolable as his signed contract.

I rejoice that the newspaper is inspired as never before with the determination to do service; that it has become one of the most effective instruments for the advancement of American civilization thru industry and commerce, and is leading in the great ethical impulse that is abroad in the world today. The world is growing better; we are upon the threshold of a greater era in which honesty and good faith and brotherhood are the controlling forces, an era in which the spirit of the Golden Rule will dominate the business world to an extent not dreamed of by the saints and prophets of the past.

NEED OF BUSINESS MEN IN POLITICS.

*From an Address to the Leavenworth Commercial Club,
April 13, 1915.*

Now, if ever, is the time for every business man in Kansas and the United States to keep track of the record of public officials. Spot the fellows who are ready and willing to waste public funds by favoring needless expenditures or unnecessary appropriations. Keep your eye on the pork-barrel crowd and all others actuated by selfish motives who are more interested in their own welfare than

in the welfare of the country as a whole. They are dangerous men. Mark them and weed them out.

The people of Kansas demand something more than common honesty in their public officials.

It isn't enough for a man merely to keep his fingers out of the public treasury. It isn't enough for him to keep within the limit of the law and keep out of jail. The faithful public servant must have honesty of the positive sort as well as the negative sort. To be sure, he must refrain from graft and loot, but he must do more than that if he is to measure up to the modern standard of honesty; he must be a faithful public servant—and that means he must render the best service of which he is capable. He must realize that it is just as wrong to steal the state's time as it is to steal the state's money; just as wrong to waste the state's money by carelessness or thru extravagance as it is to appropriate the public funds to his own use; just as wicked to pay public funds to a useless job-holder as it would be to put the money into his own pocket.

I have a great deal of faith in the common honesty of mankind. But the trouble has been that too many of us have had very lax ideas about the public service. We have been too prone to take it for granted that a public contract is a "fat contract." We have been accustomed to look upon public office as an "easy snap," and we have been in the habit of distributing the offices as rewards for political service, or have elected men because they were "good fellows," without regard to their qualifications. And the result often has been poor public service—not always because of positive rascality, but more frequently because of inefficiency, extravagance and wastefulness in the conduct of public affairs.

Locking the stable door after the horse has been stolen, is the only recourse the people have under the spoils system of government. This is what a taxpayers' league is now trying to do in Kansas City and Jackson county, Missouri. The league finds the city and county has 472 deputy offi-

cials on the payroll, many officials being provided with motor cars and chauffeurs at the public expense. It finds great wastefulness in the building of rock roads; the creation of many altogether unnecessary offices to make places for political favorites—in other words, that a great, wasteful, political machine is doing the public's business poorly, inefficiently and extravagantly, while doing the public thoroly.

An easy-going man in business seldom proves successful. Success in business requires the most constant and close attention to detail and faithful, earnest and interested industry. The man must be on the job all the time. And this is the very reason our politico-management of the public business is such a complete and colossal failure that it is costing the people enormous sums every year out of all proportion to the benefits they receive. The public servant must learn that his job depends solely on the way he does his work and not on his political pull, before one in a thousand will be worth his salt. Not until we insist on divorcing the public business from partisan politics, political intrigue and the spoils idea and concentrating the responsibility and the management of it under the fewest possible heads, instead of dividing it up among many independent departments, will the public get its dollar's worth of service for its hundred cents of tax money.

The people of Kansas, and indeed the people of the nation, are taking a higher stand in regard to public affairs than ever before, and much good already has been accomplished. But we are still a long way from conducting the public business on as careful and as economical basis as that on which the successful private business is conducted.

It seems to me that common honesty should impel every man who takes an oath of office to bring to that office the best there is in him. It seems to me that it should be his highest ambition to conduct his office on a business-like

basis—to give the public the greatest possible service at the least possible expense.

We must demand from every public official just as strict economy, just as great watchfulness and carefulness, just as great efficiency and just as scrupulous honesty in “little things”—the saving of the minutes and the pennies—as the modern business house demands of its employees.

As a business man to business man, I am here to say to you good men of Kansas that what we need most in this country, what we must have, and what we are soon to get, is more business in our politics and in our public affairs. This now is our greatest lack in government, the reason why we have the poorest, the loosest, the most inefficient and the most expensive public service, from top to bottom, of any first-class nation on earth.

Our present system of public service was born in the days of the stage coach and the blunderbuss. It is utterly incapable of keeping step with the quick march of modern progress. Every year it is falling farther and farther behind. It is so inefficient and unmanageable in its methods, that thru its own inadvertence it frequently defeats its own good purposes and invariably brings keen disappointment to the people. The remedy lies in the wider use of the well known methods and the well tried mechanism which have proved successful in great business concerns; a more effective centralization of administrative authority in the executive which will afford him a better opportunity to maintain constant scrutiny of public funds; and the vesting in the governor of the power of originating the legislative budget of appropriations.

In every community the men of finest executive ability and of greatest influence on its life and progress are the business men. I don't believe they have, or that the people have, any conception of what we are losing, thru not having the active personal interest and assistance of these men in making the public business a business.

As a state, we must follow the example set by the great

railway systems and business corporations in adopting modern scientific business methods; in the elimination of useless boards and commissions and all other unnecessary positions and in requiring the very highest efficiency on the part of every public servant. Both county and state government in Kansas can be greatly simplified by concentrating responsibility, by reorganizing and consolidating some of the offices, eliminating a lot of the useless boards, commissions, inspectors, and other unnecessary positions, and requiring the very highest efficiency on the part of every public servant.

The state's welfare and the people's good is the business of state government, not apportioning out the jobs to vote-getters, or to pay political debts, or to buy another's good will.

The man who gets a state job or any other public position should be the best man it is possible to obtain for the money. Merit should be the first test of his fitness, and merit should be the chief requirement for his retention in office.

The cost of government in the state of Kansas and the country over has almost doubled in the last ten years. We are not only living beyond our means, we are living beyond the means of the third or fourth generation to come.

This all has to be paid some time—if not in direct taxes, then indirectly. And the end is not yet. The whole American public seems wild with spending. We are living high, in the family, in the town, as a state and as a nation.

If the public's money supply were as inexhaustible as air, as so many agitators try to make it appear in urging appropriations in Kansas legislatures as well as in the national Congress, the result would not be so serious, but we must forever keep in mind that the government—national, state and local—has nothing to give except what it collects by taxation, and this burden falls heaviest on the man at the

end of the line, and on business. We must not forget that you and I always pay the bill in the end.

The government, as well as the state, the county and the city, must stop spending money recklessly and wastefully. Battleships, rivers and harbors, monuments, public buildings, expositions—in these and almost everything else there has been shameful extravagance. Congressmen of all political parties in recent years actually have urged indefensible million-dollar appropriations just because the graft was to be spent in their own states—have boasted of their raids on the public treasury when the whole thing was ruinous, and disgraceful, and a betrayal of the public welfare. The extreme has been reached in public expenditures and I believe immediate retrenchment is necessary to insure the future welfare of the people who are bearing the great burden.

NARROW PARTISANSHIP IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

*From a Speech Delivered at the Spring Hill Fair,
September 8, 1916.*

It is not pleasant for me to say these things. Some of the men who have participated in these gas receivership grafts are members of my own political party. They have many and powerful friends. But, when I became a public officer, I took a vow that I should serve all the people of Kansas alike in respect to doing my duty, and I shall not depart from that vow nor from my duty to shield wrongdoing, whether in my own party or some other party.

More than that. I am glad to see that as a people and a state we are getting a little farther away all the time from blind and narrow partisanship in public affairs. The day when we can get anywhere by approving or defending every man and every measure of our own party and sweepingly condemning everything and everybody in the other

party, is past, and we should be both glad and proud of it, for it is proof—unmistakable proof—of our higher political intelligence as a people.

Every man should belong to a political party—the party that most nearly represents his views—and should take a lively interest in politics. I belong to the Republican party and I believe heartily in its principles. But personally, as an editor, and officially as governor, I propose to stand by every man and every measure, truly serving the people, whether politically they are Democrats or Republicans. I am glad too, to be able to say of the people of this state, that while we Kansans have positive political views, especially in campaign times, we are becoming more and more inclined to get down to the real business of government through genuine public service. That more and more we are turning our serious attention to promoting human progress and humanitarian ideas. That more and more we are considering the welfare and advancement of the whole people. That is the true test. That is the real thing, the big thing, the vital thing—the only thing worth doing in party politics.

REPUBLICANISM THE HOPE OF THE NATION

*From an Address at a Republican Banquet at Hiawatha,
Kan., February 22, 1916.*

It is like meeting home folks to come to Brown county. In a high sense Kansas has no finer type of sturdy Republican citizenship than you have always had here. It is the kind of Republicanism that puts home and country first and party next. I say this in no disparagement of party faith and party loyalty, but in praise of it. The welfare of the community and the nation is the true object of party politics and party solicitude. The community, the common-

wealth and the nation were not created that there might be a Republican party, a Democratic party, or any other party, but thru party organization and party activity, to prove and develop American ideals and American institutions and to promote human progress and the world's happiness and well-being—the biggest and the grandest job God has delegated to man. And if ever there was a time when a man might fervently thank God that he was and still is a Republican, it seems to me that it is now.

I am a thoro believer in the principles of the Republican party. I am not a Republican simply because some other man was a Republican last year, and another is a Republican this year, but because the Republican party more than any other is animated by the American spirit and always has upheld our national self-respect at home and abroad. It has done this not by threats, nor bluster, but in the fair, firm, kindly and dignified way characteristic of America's true attitude toward the world, and in accord with our Christian belief in the brotherhood of man. Under Republican administration, an immense navy and a huge army never have been required to firmly enforce such demands, nor do I think they ever will be.

We have seen such lamentable blundering and shifting about of policies in the case of Mexico that the world has wondered and as a consequence, nowhere has the life and property of American citizens and the honor of American womanhood been held so cheaply as in Mexican territory. Here the same indecision has by its results obscured and discredited certain admirable features of the President's policy.

Coming nearer home the weak spots in the Wilson administration are even more apparent. There has been no greater failure in American history than the Underwood tariff. Immense revenues have been lost, the cost of living has not been perceptibly decreased, American labor has suffered severely, shiploads of farm products from all the

agricultural countries of the globe have undersold home products in the American market.

To meet its immense losses of revenue and keep the national treasury from utter bankruptcy, the Democratic administration was compelled to supplement its tax on incomes with the so-called war tax in time of peace; and now, more than a year after its enactment and the extension of this war tax for the present year, the government is exceeding its income at the rate of about 1 million dollars every three days and piling up a deficit of 100 million or more of dollars a year. Had it not been for war in Europe, which put all foreign competition with American trade, at home and abroad, out of commission; which has kept us busy supplying the belligerent nations with foodstuffs and clothing; which has kept the millions of capital of our great money lenders busy; and has brought and is bringing to our steel mills and munition makers 2 million dollars a day of blood money for arms and munitions alone—the wreck of American industry resulting from the operation of the Congress-made, unscientific Democratic tariff act undoubtedly would have been appalling, and the statesmanship of the Democratic party so utterly discredited before the people, that its retirement from power would be demanded from Maine to California.

I am confident that after the war, should the Democratic party still be in power, we shall once more begin to feel the ruinous effect of this misbegotten tariff as we did in the few months preceding the war, when, as you know, trade balances ran against us month after month and gold began to leave the country by the shipload.

The first act of the Democratic tariff tinkerers was to do away with a tariff commission which the experience of the Republican party had amply demonstrated was the only honest, scientific, equitable and logical way of adjusting tariff schedules. It went further than this: In following its theory of a tariff for revenue only, the Democratic party swept aside the protective principle, now adopted and en-

forced by all other commercial nations, to discover in a few short weeks that its tariff act was failing even as a revenue producer and that the party's new income tax was not bringing money in fast enough to fill up the gaping hole in the treasury.

In the meantime this costly Democratic experiment has cost the American people hundreds of millions of dollars and probably would have brought them near ruin but for the war, which, altho it has visited grief and destruction on Europe has undoubtedly saved us from a widespread industrial disaster.

The Republican party has made mistakes, but it has never made such costly errors as have repeatedly been made by the Democratic party whenever returned to power. The Republican party has always managed the business of the government at a profit instead of at a loss. It has always provided a tariff that has protected the American producer and the American wage earner and has supplied sufficient funds with which to pay the running expenses of government without levying special or extraordinary taxes for that purpose. Its history proves the Republican party to have been the only political party in this country in the last half century with brains enough, with statesmanship enough, and with executive and cohesive power enough to capably administer the affairs of the nation. It is not surprising then, that the people should turn hopefully to it once more in their present difficulties.

THE SPIRIT OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

From an Address to the Shawnee County Republican Club, March, 1916.

To us in this critical time of stress and doubt the great cheering fact is the strong rising tide of Republicanism that has set in all over the country. When the nation needs

sturdy Americanism in its government, the Republican party always seems to get the job. At such times mere party differences within the ranks are forgotten in the party's response to the nation's call. As a party, in times of crises, the Republican party has always chosen to hang together. It may be as one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence put it on a memorable occasion, that we choose to hang together for the reason that if we don't we are likely to hang separately. But I prefer to put the reason on much higher ground than any mere self-interest. Unlike our Democratic brethren we choose, as Republicans, some other time than a time of national anxiety and unrest for our political post-mortems and hair-pulling matches. In time of need it is and always has been the characteristic of sturdy Republican citizenship to line up shoulder to shoulder and go forward together with one common purpose for the common good. I know no more admirable trait of Republicans as party men than this. It is country first, political differences last. In moments of trial, in time of trouble, of doubt, or of national perplexity, Republicanism always becomes a strongly united, effective force. It never crumbles, disintegrates nor weakens under strain. And just now we are seeing a strong rebirth of this fine national spirit within the party and every man of us who loves his country feels like uttering a fervent Amen.

In Kansas I think we have come early to feel that it is not only a downright national need but a patriotic duty for us to come together. The desire among all Republicans in every part of the state is to avoid or ignore every cause of friction which does not require an actual sacrifice of principle. There is everywhere a feeling of harmony and of confidence, a belief that the party is called by the country's need speedily to resume the reins of government. The feeling is general and compelling that if the party gives the country renewed assurance that it is fully worthy of that confidence and that it fully estimates the need at this time of the most level-headed leadership, by selecting for

its candidate for President its highest, sanest type of leader, that the country will turn with joy and relief to forward-looking Republicanism, as a homesick child to its mother, and that a soberer, calmer judgment will take the place of the uneasiness, the semi-hysteria and the indecision which has come to characterize the state of the country under the Wilson administration.

The first great, important, strategical step will be the selection of a leader that every element of the party can unite in supporting with enthusiasm and respect. To this end every Republican must yield as well as demand the fullest freedom of choice. He must get rid of the feeling, if he has it, that only the particular man he may have in view will do for the party's national standard bearer. At the same time if the party cannot unite whole-heartedly and enthusiastically, without misgivings, on the man finally chosen, it will, I fear, prove to the nation a lack of patriotism in not responding loyally and spontaneously to the country's need, and that we know is foreign to the finest traditions of the party. We may well remember with pride that the Republican party never yet has given the nation an unworthy or an unsuccessful President. We know, too, it is equally true to say that we never have known it to lack for strong, well-seasoned, finely grained Presidential timber—the straight and clean kind.

We want particularly at this time a man thoroly representative of our finest, strongest, staunchest, most progressive and most sterling Americanism. A man who will move powerfully and effectively and work unerringly for American progress at home, who will command and restore respect for America abroad, who will not brook a deliberate affront to the nation predicated on the belief that he will not act, who will not, on the other hand, go to war except as a last resort. Such a man—I believe most of us think in Kansas—is Charles E. Hughes.

In Judge Hughes we should have a man of poise, capable of directing and enlisting the best elements of both wings

of the party in the noble work of reconstruction, of putting America and American principles firmly on the high plane they should occupy, a man capable of steering this country thru the difficulties and perils of readjustment certain to follow after the Great War. He would guide us safely and surely between the traditional radicalism and the counter-balancing conservatism of the party. In his policy he would be neither too impulsive nor too slow. His record is without spot and no one stands higher in the confidence of the people of all parties from one end of the land to the other. The country has turned to him spontaneously. If the country calls him in its hour of need, calls him unmistakably and emphatically, I think his deep convictions of public duty will prompt him to respond.

For the rest, my friends, I think a new and greater day of Republican opportunity is at hand for the greatest nation and the greatest party in the world. Let us get together as patriots and as brothers; as Kansans and as citizens of the greatest and the noblest and the most richly endowed republic of all time.

REPUBLICANISM AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR

From a Speech at the Kansas City Republican Club Banquet, Muehlebach Hotel, November 8, 1917.

The Republican governor of the Republican state of Iowa and the Republican governor of the Republican state of Kansas—I say Republican Kansas, despite the little fling the old girl took a year ago, when she wandered off on election day and failed to find her way home, landing just as far from the sheltering fold at nightfall as was your own state of Missouri—these two Republican governors have come here to the border land of Democracy, upon your most gracious invitation, to confer with you to the end that

we may all renew the faith and get fresh inspiration for the work that is before us.

I am most happy to come, because I realize that it is easily possible for us to become so engrossed with the big job this nation has upon its hands—a task that calls for every ounce of energy and every heartbeat of devotion we have—that we overlook and forget some of the other duties of good citizenship. It is well to be reminded of them.

The winning of the war is, of course, the thought that is supreme in the mind of every man here tonight. We are going to win, but what the victory shall mean to us and to the world; how far a policy of true Americanism shall prevail in the peace and in the adjustment and settlement of the thousand problems that will follow—these are questions which cannot be left for chance to decide. We must prepare to meet them and prepare now. They will call for the wisest statesmanship that this country can produce; a vision, a grasp, an understanding that comes only with a soundness in fundamentals. We who are here tonight believe that this statesmanship, this vision, this understanding, is most likely to be found among the men who adhere to the principles we group under the name Republicanism. We believe this because we believe in the inherent soundness of the principles of Republicanism as contrasted with the principles of Democracy.

The time is happily gone when any one political party can lay claim to all the patriotism, or all the honesty or all the ability in the country. We gain nothing by blind prejudice. But ours is a system of government by political parties. Our whole machinery of government calls for the existence of parties. It is only by joining together in a partisan organization that citizens of the same political faith—men and women who believe in the same fundamental principles—can make their faith effective.

And, do not allow the careless thinker to persuade you that there is no vital difference between the two dominant parties in this country. Don't let anyone say to you that

government is altogether a question of men. There is a fundamental difference between the Republican and the Democratic parties.

I am a Republican because I believe with my whole soul in the basic principles for which the Republican party stands. I believe in these principles because my personal observation in the present generation and the history of past generations have taught me that those principles work! They have been tried and were not found wanting. I am a Republican not simply because some other man was a Republican last year, and another is a Republican this year, but because the Republican party more than any other is animated by the American spirit and always has upheld our national self-respect at home and abroad. It has done this not by threats, nor bluster, but in the fair, firm, kindly and dignified way characteristic of America's true attitude toward the world, and in accord with our belief in the brotherhood of man.

I am a Republican because I believe in nationalism rather than sectionalism; because I believe in the protection of American labor and American industry; because I think more of the United States than of all the rest of the world combined; because I believe in forward-looking, constructive policies as opposed to the drifting policy of opportunities; because I believe in all the ideals for which the Republican party strives.

We are told by our Democratic friends at Washington who have been playing politics with all the skill they can command, that this is no time for partisanship—that we must get behind the President and extol to the skies every move he and his satellites make.

Well, the Republican party, both in Congress and in the nation at large, has shown that it needs no such admonition. To our everlasting credit, be it said, we have not been partisan. Never before in the history of the nation has a party in the minority shown such willingness to lay aside all differences and to unite with the opposition—or at least

such part of the opposition as had any definite notion of what was to be done in meeting a great national crisis. As a matter of fact President Wilson, like an illustrious predecessor, had a party on his hands that true to its history, was unorganized and unmanageable. With all his caniness and determination, with all the patronage distributed where it was expected to do the greatest good, the President and his program made little headway until the Republicans in Congress came to his rescue. My recollection is that even the two Democratic Senators from your own rock-ribbed old state of Missouri, didn't exactly trail along with their distinguished leader. At least not all the time. Practically every important measure that the President pushed thru a disorganized, chaotic Congress, was passed only by the aid of patriotic Republicans who would not sit idly by and see the head of the nation embarrassed and hampered in a time of national danger. With few exceptions—leaving the fiery volcano of Wisconsin and a few others out of the count—the bitterest critics of President Wilson since the war began have been Democrats, not Republicans. We cannot be accused of unfairness or unfriendliness. We have stood behind him; we have stood by him; we have stood for him—and that, gentlemen, is as much as you can expect from human nature.

But, my friends, our patriotism; our loyalty to our country; our desire to serve first of all the big, broad issue; our care to avoid narrow partisanship, need not and must not lead us into a sickly sentimentality. I don't believe I could be very much of a citizen if I didn't have at least a few pretty clearly defined ideas on government and governmental policies—ideas which are basic and fundamental. And I couldn't be very much of a man if I didn't stand up for those ideas thru thick and thin. The indifferent citizen, the man who doesn't care, the fellow who says, "O, what's the use?" is more dangerous to the state than is the positive, open foe of good government. So, the party—the political organization in which men who adhere to the same

general ideas of public policy, may get together and work together—becomes a necessity. We get nowhere with it. And the more earnest a man is in his political convictions, the greater his faith in the fundamentals to which he holds, the more likely he is to have a high regard for the party of his choice; the more likely is his fealty to his party to take on the aspect of intense partisanship.

And I want to tell you why I am a Republican. I am now and I have always been a party man—not because I have ever placed party above patriotism, not because I have ever exalted faction above country or conscience—but because I know that men who think alike about the great fundamental things which concern the happiness and well-being of the people can never carry into effect the principles in which they believe without getting together and working together—without a clearly defined organization, and that organization naturally takes the shape and form of a political party.

I am a party man because under our form of government the political party is the only effective means by which the people can make themselves felt in the government, and I am a Republican party man because I believe in my deepest heart that it is by means of and thru the Republican party that the great problems of popular government—the new problems that a world war has thrust upon us, can be the most surely, the most sanely, and the most justly solved.

I am a Republican because I believe that the Republican party—conceived in Righteousness—born of a holy purpose—baptized in blood and nurtured by the high ideals of Justice, Fraternity, Equality—is destined by Almighty God to solve and solve rightly the problems of the American people—so that this nation shall have again, in the words of the immortal Lincoln, “a new birth of freedom and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.”

I say that I believe the Republican party will solve these

problems, because I believe it to be the most progressive, the most intelligent, the most beneficent political organization ever known in this or any other country; because it is a party not ashamed of its past; because it has enriched our history with a long list of imperishable names that will be an inspiration and an example for generations to come; because it insists that every legal voter shall have a right to cast one free, unintimidated ballot and to have that ballot honestly counted; because it is not afraid to champion the cause of the weak, the poor, the humblest citizen; because it stands for justice, free popular government, individual liberty, and a fair chance in the battle of life for all people; because it stands for a square deal as between man and man and has the courage to attack unjust combinations of selfish interests and to assail vice however strongly entrenched it may be.

We are, to be sure, first of all Americans; but we are also Republicans and we are Republicans because we honestly and sincerely believe that the Republican party represents and embodies in itself the highest type of Americanism. When the life of the nation is at stake, we have worked loyally and heartily with the Democratic administration and shall continue to do so—but only because the Democrats happened to be on the job when hell broke loose and there hasn't been time since to make a change. We have not lost nor given up one of the smallest tenets of our faith. Our Republicanism is as strong, as virile and as attractive as it ever was—indeed, stronger than ever, because nothing in the world is so sure to strengthen the Republican party as a good dose of Democracy.

A farmer friend of mine out in Kansas frequently says: "I never bawl out the hired man when the hay is cut and a storm's brewing. But I take care to have a reckoning when pay-day comes." The Republican party and the people of the nation are acting exactly on that principle. They are saying little now—and wisely so—but they are keeping their eyes open and their brains working. They are meet-

ing the situation as it is and are making the best of it, but they are also keeping up a lot of thinking, and like my Kansas friend, they'll take good care to have a reckoning when pay-day comes. They will not be fooled for one moment by political propaganda skillfully slipped into so-called patriotic appeals emanating from partisan sources. They are not blind to the favoritism and partisanship displayed in so marked a degree in appointments. They are not unheedful of reckless waste and extravagance; and they will demand an accounting of the stewardship. It is unfortunate for the Democratic party, I think, that the administration succeeded over Republican protests in assuming the responsibility for the expenditure without audit or accounting of such enormous sums of money as the war has made necessary. The fact that haste is imperative would suggest the greater need of every possible safeguard against—well, let us say against “errors” and “mistakes” and “poor judgment.” The American people are not going to begrudge any of the billions spent in behalf of the righteous cause we espouse; nothing costs too much if it increases the efficiency of our arms, or adds to the safety and comfort of our boys; no price is too high to pay for quick action. We are waging our fight in no niggardly spirit; but to paraphrase a historic utterance, the nation will say on reckoning day: “Billions for defense and more billions if needed, but not one cent for waste or graft or incompetency.”

And incompetency is the first name of the Democratic party.

The winning of the war is a task for a united people. There is no room for argument when it comes to smashing the Hun. But in the economic, the political, the social questions which will crowd upon us when the war is done, there will be all the diversity of opinion, the conflict of interest, the clash of ideals that has ever marked political and economic struggles. It is trite to say “The world never will be the same again.” We all recognize that. We all

know that this nation will not go back to many of the old ways. How far will we go in the other direction? How fully shall we respond to new demands and adopt new methods? How much of pure socialism shall we retain in our political system, after the occasion which called it into use, has passed? These are questions which the party and the nation must face. They will call for courage and genuine conviction; they will call for statecraft and devotion to principle. And men, I believe when the American people are brought face to face with these problems they will want to run no risk in their solution. If the Republican party is true to its traditions there can be no doubt of the result. The people will turn to us as to a haven in a time of storm.

Standing square-toed and upright upon the great fundamental principles of the Republican party, we never have been defeated. The party has been overthrown only when it has courted the disasters which overtook it—only when we have deserted the ways of the fathers and have gone off after strange gods, or when we have allowed selfishness and greed to dominate the party machinery, to engender factional strife, to blind our eyes to the real mission of our party. We must not forget that parties are but the agencies to promote the interests of the peoples; this is especially true of the Republican party, and so long as it patriotically and loyally serves well the people, it will receive their sanction and support. The Republican party is today the same strong, straightforward, aggressive organization that it has ever been, and if it were not that kind of an organization it could not for one moment have my support. I have the utmost faith that it will be the party always prepared to meet the greatest emergency, always master of every occasion, always ready to battle for the rights of the people.

I rejoice in the fact that the Republican party is not a one man party. I rejoice in the fact that it is big enough and broad enough and great enough to embrace many men of many minds. I rejoice in the fact that there is no place in the policies of the Republican party for the lash or yoke

—that every member of the party has a right to his individual opinion and the right to express that opinion, but, I also rejoice that as Republicans our faith in the fundamental principles and in the honesty of purpose of our party, is so great that when the nation is assailed by an enemy and our very liberties are threatened, we will forget our personal differences, forget questions of minor importance, lay aside our personal ambitions and work together for the common good—for the maintenance of those policies of government which bring the greatest good to the greatest number.

What of the future? I have no fear for the future of America. We have had a revival of patriotism that was sorely needed; its effects will be lasting. The wave may recede, our fervor may somewhat abate, but not before a permanent impress is made upon our people and our institutions. However much we may deplore the horrors of war, we know that real men emerge from it. Our Civil War and our little brush with Spain, gave us heroic figures who came out of the war to take up the reins of government. History will repeat itself. The men who are defending the liberties of the world today will rule the world tomorrow. And if we can trust these men to fight for us, we may safely entrust to them our destinies in time of peace. The nation will be safe in their hands.

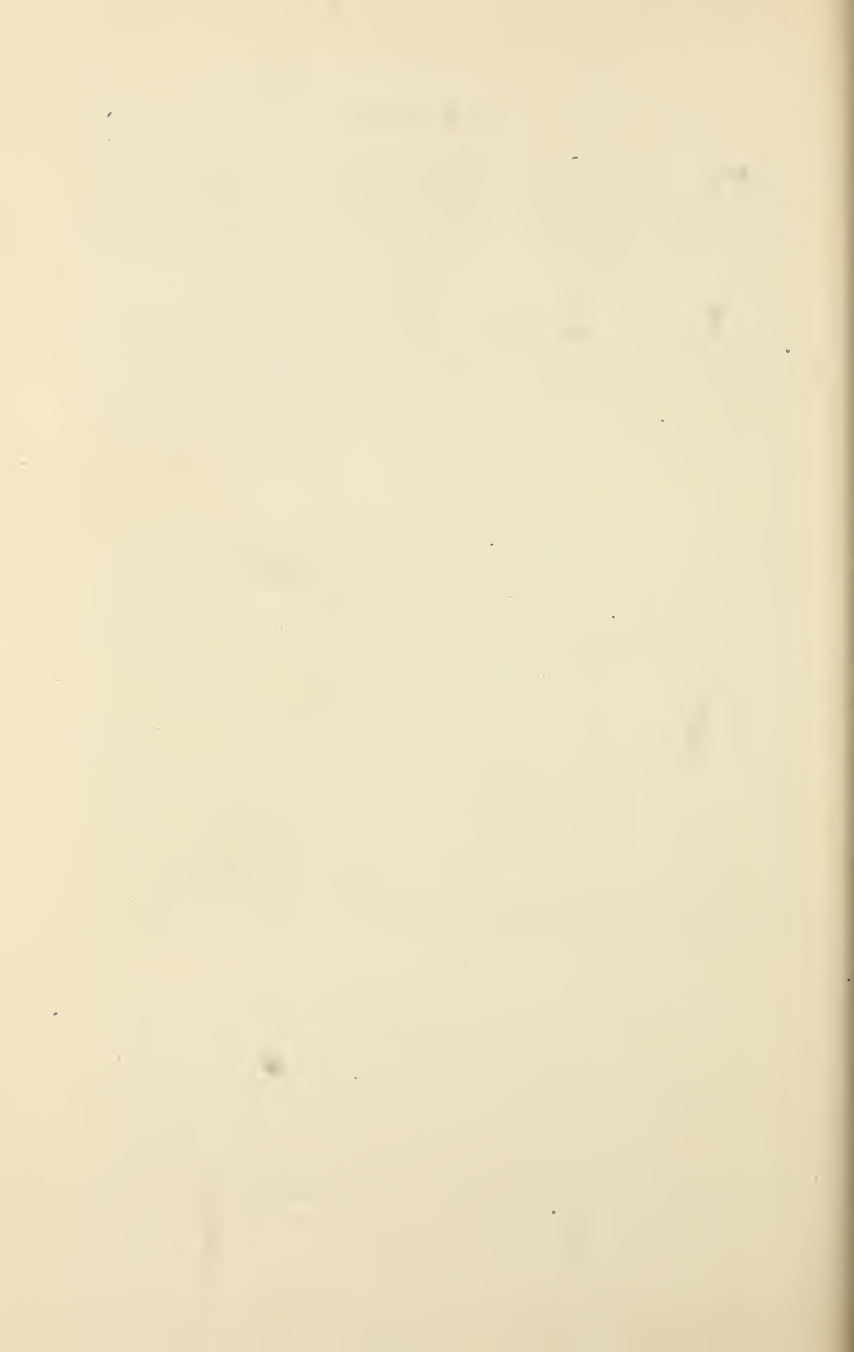
As to the future of the Republican party, I answer with all confidence that it is yet at the threshold, yet in the dawn of its development; the light of the morning is still shining upon this superb organization; under its patriotic progressive policies the nation will go onward and upward to heights not yet won; I have faith that it will continue to deserve and retain the confidence of the voters, command their devotion and wisely direct the struggle for justice and popular democratic government.

There is much work for the Republican party to do in the immediate future, but I say to you I do not for one moment doubt that it will go forward with high resolution,

fearlessly facing the new problems which confront our people, meeting well the new duties which will come to us, and conducting the affairs of this country in the spirit of high-minded patriotism.

I hope and believe, my friends, that this inspiring political love-feast is an influence that shall give courage and strength to every loyal Republican in Missouri; that it is the beginning of a new revival of Republican sentiment that shall fill the state from one end to the other, and from this hour there will go forth new glory, new hope, new inspiration.

Let it be known that we come here in the spirit of the founders of our party, in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln, cherishing that broader optimism which should be ours as American citizens, to join hands and hearts that we may continue to strengthen, uplift and upbuild the great Republican cause and perpetuate its patriotic principles in the state and in the nation. Inspired with renewed ardor for our party, with larger, broader, more exalted views of its great responsibilities, taking new heart and new courage, let us here and now pledge ourselves as patriotic Americans, as loyal, progressive, stalwart Republicans, to set the standard of Republicanism higher and higher, moving steadfastly onward and upward in the accomplishment of still greater victories and in the winning of new glories for our country and our people.



PROHIBITION ADDRESSES

Thruout his career as a publisher and a public official Arthur Capper has been an ardent supporter of prohibition. He has upheld and defended this generation-old Kansas policy at home and abroad and is recognized the nation over as a champion of national prohibition. His addresses on this subject have been a great help to the prohibition cause. Extracts from them may be found in the following pages.

COMPARING A DRY STATE AND A WET STATE.

An Address Delivered Before the National Prohibition Convention at Topeka, Kan., December 30, 1914.

It was peculiarly fitting that this convention of prohibitionists should come to Kansas. No more appropriate state could have been chosen. This is true not only because of the pleasure we have in welcoming you to our capital, but also because of the pleasure we hope you may have during your visit. Kansas is so genuinely a prohibition state that its people believe it should be headquarters for the movement which I am confident will, much sooner than many of us believe, bring about nation-wide abolishment of the liquor traffic.

Kansas pleads guilty to intemperance in only one form: its determination to be an absolutely clean state, a safe state in which to rear children, to build happy homes, to encourage the highest standards of morality, and to make those standards possible by enforcing the statutes wisely

enacted to that end. In such laudable ambitions Kansas does not believe it possible to be too enthusiastic. By trying zealously and consistently to maintain such a plane of living, Kansas has reduced its per capita consumption of liquor to \$1.25, compared with \$21, the per capita consumption of the average state having saloons. Kansas has 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ million population, with more children enrolled in its schools and higher institutions of learning than any other state in the Union, having approximately the same number of children. It has as many students in its State University at Lawrence and its great agricultural college at Manhattan as are entered in similar institutions in Illinois with its 6 million population.

It is inevitable that such reflections should lead to the recital of other facts certain to convince and encourage the states now striving to emulate the example of Kansas. What other state, let me ask you, has forty-eight counties that did not send one criminal to the penitentiary last year, or eighty-seven counties that did not send a patient to the asylums for the insane, or fifty-three counties without a prisoner in their jails, or eighty-three counties without a pauper?

Kansas has the lowest death rate in the world, nearly 300 per cent lower than Missouri or any other saloon state. Kansas has the lowest percentage of illiteracy in the United States, largely as the result of its thirty-two years of prohibition; and Kansas has comforts and conveniences impossible in states where saloons exist.

Comparisons are not always polite, but sometimes they are inestimably valuable and important. If I choose to refer to our sister state on the east—Missouri—I do it because it is the nearest one having saloons and all the economic waste which saloons entail. In Missouri, then, one farmer in a hundred has an automobile. In Kansas one farmer in five owns a car. Kansas has crowded colleges and schools that cost the people about 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ million dollars a year. Missouri has 4,000 saloons into which its

people pay 80 million dollars a year. Missouri has about \$20 per capita in the savings banks. Kansas, with $2\frac{1}{4}$ million less population, has more than a hundred dollars per capita in the savings banks, and about \$600 to every family within its borders. In Missouri, last year, the assessed valuation was \$1,650,000,000 while in Kansas it was \$2,810,000,000. In Missouri the assessed valuation is \$300 per capita. In Kansas it is \$1,750. In Kansas the increase in wealth during the last ten years has been at the rate of 120 million dollars a year! Missouri has more natural advantages than Kansas, such as mineral deposits, forests, richer soil, more rainfall, and nearer and larger markets. Missouri also has millions invested in breweries and its 4,000 saloons, but Kansas lent 50 million dollars to New York in the panic of 1907, while Missouri declined to send a penny. Missouri's wealth has been going into saloons and breweries to an alarming extent. Kansas' wealth has been going into silos and banks, into safe homes, into educational institutions, into town improvements. Scarcely a town in the state, of 1,500 population, is without electric lights, sewers, water-works and paving.

I need not prolong the comparisons. These results, these conditions, and Kansas' success with the enforcement of the prohibitory laws, make it the duty of Kansas people to take the lead in an active propaganda for making this a saloonless nation. To this extent, as a state among states, we are emphatically "our brother's keeper."

It is not difficult in studying Missouri and Kansas to conclude precisely what may be expected in a commonwealth having saloons. Such facts and figures drive home a lesson which every American municipality should put into large type and post where every man, woman and child might see it every day in the year. Such facts and figures appall the thinking man, but others more startling may be found in several saloon states. Mr. Collard, a former saloon keeper in Chicago, has given figures showing that the income necessary to provide for the licenses, rent,

help, liquors and profits for Chicago's 7,200 saloons was not less than 140 million dollars in 1913. Put into legitimate channels this money would duplicate the present small park system of that city and pay for its up-keep; it would pay for the police department, the fire department, the health department, and duplicate each of them, and then leave about 70 million dollars for family clothing and food, with still enough to build a row 40 miles long of \$10,000 homes each on a 50-foot lot, 96 to the mile. Think what it might do for the starving millions of Belgium and Mexico and other war-stricken countries. In return for this enormous waste, which some unconscious humorist has referred to as "staggering," the city of Chicago receives 7 million dollars a year—not enough to pay for its hospitals, jails, penitentiary, criminal courts, and the graft which liquor always engenders. How can any state, inhabited by intelligent, thinking voters, permit such conditions to continue?

Since Kansas became a prohibition state this nation has recorded a remarkable change in public opinion with regard to liquor and its drinking. Not so very many years ago the temperance lecturer was regarded by many really respectable persons as a nuisance against which the ordinances of towns and cities unhappily provided no protection. Not very many business men cared to have their names identified with a propaganda which threatened what some queer mentalities believed to be the "rights of property and human freedom and personal privilege." Men who would not steal a penny or do another a conscious wrong held aloof from the temperance or prohibition agitation precisely as some otherwise normal persons would not, today, care to be seen carrying a Bible through the streets. Men pointed to Germany where, they declared, generation after generation were reared with beer or wine at every meal, or to Russia where vodka was a common drink, manufactured by the government itself. They paraded everywhere the specter of municipalities bankrupted through

the abolishing of saloons and the license tax such business provided. No other one reform in American life ever had arrayed against it the men and the millions that were arrayed and are still arrayed against prohibition.

But the American people have been reading and observing and thinking—thinking for themselves. The millions of the brewers and the distilleries corrupted legislatures and councils. They sent across this land in every direction the most insidious falsehoods ever conceived to blind the people. But the temperance lecturers of years ago, tireless and loyal thru every kind of disheartenment and persecution, had done their work thoroly as they passed along. The people of this nation were alive, at last, to the truth.

Presently there came a day when the great railroads, the leading industries of every kind in which capital was largely invested, the newspapers, the magazines, the men everywhere sincerely concerned for the safety of their investments and for the country's welfare, turned their backs upon liquor and its damning blight. And we began to hope for national prohibition. It took, even then, a sturdy character to stand sponsor for the act in Congress. It took a man brave enough to drive his craft, for his country's sake, straight into the face of the enemy's fortifications, to capture a hostile fleet. It took the right sort of courage to do both these things; and the latest achievement, like the first, will result in a victory for America. The nation, I know and you know, will never forget this modern Hobson's Choice.

Not alone in America have wise men frowned upon drink. The nations long held up as examples of industrial progress in the presence of whisky and beer and wine, have turned against such traffic. It takes a great crisis, sometimes, to achieve great deeds. It took the world's mightiest tragedy, its most awful war, to wipe out the curse of strong

drink in Russia. It took the blare of trumpets and the call to arms to put Germany against it.

And fearful as this war has been—and is—its million dead compares but weakly against the millions dead or ruined by liquor. Broken homes, broken hearts, broken hopes, property loss, social disintegration, political corruption—was it any wonder that Kansas people declared these things must not be? Who shall say that any Kansas idiosyncrasy, any Kansas peculiarity of temperament, any characteristic Kansas ebullition, religious, political, literary or social, was not more than paid for, thirty-two years ago, when Kansas drove out forever, this hateful traffic and all it entails? No one item in all the fifty years' history of this state will endure so long in men's minds, or do so much to keep men's minds straight.

Kansas is a state of homes into which the Saturday night pay envelope is taken regularly. Therefore Kansas is prosperous and, even without its three chief crops, worth nearly 275 million dollars this year, its savings banks tell the tale of temperance and the thrift that temperance begets. On the west, its sister state—Colorado, has joined the elect, so that the boundary line is no longer a menace to sobriety. On the south is Oklahoma, dry from its birth. On the north Nebraska is striving for the light, and on the east Missouri is trying to be free.

We all know now that prohibition is not an easy condition to achieve or to maintain. It takes constant vigilance and ceaseless enforcement of law. In the great cities it will be even more difficult until the manufacturing of whisky and every other intoxicating liquor is forbidden by federal statutes. Already it has been made plain in Kansas that no man can gain office on what we have known as a "wide open" platform. You may depend upon the women even if all the men should fail. But the men will not fail. Men know now that the good they do lives after them. Men, I like to believe, are concerning themselves with bet-

ter things than in any other age, determined to take their part in the highest and best of human endeavor.

Kansas is trying to point the way along a clean and well kept highway. Why should not Kansas be chosen as the meeting place for such a gathering as this? Why should not Kansas be looked to as proof that towns can prosper without revenue paid for in human lives and women's happiness? Why should not Kansas do a mighty part in the struggle to clean the nation itself?

Kansas, my friends, is proof that prohibition actually does prohibit, after every allowance is made for the frailties of men. And Kansas is prosperous and at peace with itself in the consciousness that it has set a high mark and tried to live up to it.

PROHIBITION LAW RIGIDLY ENFORCED IN KANSAS

*From an Address to the Kansas State Temperance Union,
December 14, 1915.*

This world has been fighting for thousands of years against the Devil as represented in vice of every kind, and I suspect it will have to continue the battle to the end of time. I believe, sincerely, that in Kansas we are socially cleaner and that the prohibition law is more generally observed than at any other time. I make no intentional reflection on any other administration in saying this. I mean that in every possible way, so far as this administration is concerned, the law is being enforced. I believe that with few exceptions the county officers in every part of this state are eager to do their duty. I believe that with the assistance of the attorney general, S. M. Brewster, and his efficient aides, these county officers will see to it that the state's name is not tarnished. It gives me a good deal of pleasure, in this connection, to commend the attorney

general for his excellent services in enforcing the liquor laws. No governor ever had more hearty co-operation than I have had from Mr. Brewster's office. He realizes, as I do, and as you and every other careful thinker must realize, that thruout Kansas and especially in the border counties of this state we must expect to encounter violations of the prohibitory law. This is inevitable. Consider Atchison and Leavenworth and Kansas City, on the edge of the law's control. One no sooner crosses the line outside of Atchison than one is confronted with the saloon menace, flaunting its brazen head in the face of decency with signs painted large enough to be read a mile away—the whisky dealer's defiance—his last, let us hope—to society's restraint. We must expect to have trouble in such quarters, and we must be prepared for it. Indeed, it is not too much to say that we shall have this kind of opposition until the last state has gone dry and the entire nation has voted its determination to close the last saloon on the North American continent.

Prohibition is not merely a matter of enactment. It takes more than a legislature to give a state decency. It takes the great, sincere and sober-minded determination of the public, of what we call society itself, to make a state clean. We do not stop whisky drinking or bootlegging by making it illegal to do those things. We must make that man an outcast who persistently and intentionally violates the law and defies the wishes of the people. We must make every man know that he offends not only the law but the entire public when he violates this law, precisely as we treat a man who commits any other felony. He can have no more consideration than he has shown for others. He will fight desperately, with falsehood for his chief weapon, but the forces of righteousness need only to enforce the law, to support and uphold the officers who represent the public, to stand back of every man who is doing his duty for the state, and above all to tell the truth. The truth, told every day, will down the liquor evil in this

country. We need resort to no subterfuges. We need twist no figures. We need only the facts about Kansas to convince any intelligent person that prohibition not only does prohibit, but that in addition it builds up a fine, stalwart social body of energetic, ambitious and patriotic men and women.

It is not my purpose to spend the time allotted to me on this program in telling of the benefits of prohibition to Kansas and its blessings to her people. All of you know that as well as I do. Many of you have been actively interested in prohibition for a generation and it is needless to speak to you of its beneficent influence on the citizen, the home and the state. I shall devote my remarks to a presentation of the problem of law enforcement. That is what the governor of Kansas is now interested in, perhaps more than any other one question. A law uninforced or unobserved is worse than no law at all. It is the putting of life into a law that makes it effective, just the same as putting life into anything else gives it strength and power. And I am doing all in my power to instill more life into the prohibitory law than it has ever had in it before. That prohibition is more effective today than any previous time in the history of the state is attested not only by observations of public officers and prominent citizens generally, but also by public records as well.

You know, of course, that ever since this state closed its doors to the liquor business, a never-ending campaign of falsehood has been conducted. You know that, with scarcely an exception, not one truthful assertion has been published by the liquor interests about Kansas. You know these things, and I mention them now only because it is necessary, after thirty years of denials, to continue our watchfulness, to remain always on guard against the sinister operations of this powerful enemy.

You know most of the falsehoods told about Kansas in the past. The wonder in my mind has always been over the strange sort of mentality responsible for this particular

kind of mendacity. I have marveled at the queer assurance which has led the liquor interests to suppose that their vicious misrepresentations would not be discovered untrue. In every possible way these forces have injured their own chances—if they ever had any—by wilfully and malevolently doing the wrong thing. Some of you will remember how true this has proved with respect to all the alleged statistics about this state. So palpably false have all their charges been that in quarters even superficially informed, the liquor interests' publicity has proved a boomerang.

There comes to mind at this instant the whisky dealers' argument to the effect that the savings banks' deposits in Kansas are so very much less than in license states. At first blush this kind of report may influence some men. But what I cannot understand is the peculiar implication, inevitably and certainly intended to be conveyed, that men in license states are, by reason of the saloons and other unrestricted liberties, encouraged to lay away more money than are the working men of Kansas. Of course the assertion is absurd, as are all the foolish reports emanating from the whisky ring. Purposely they neglected to show that Kansas has only five savings banks within its borders. The state's enormous reserve of money is in another form of bank, not called a savings bank. So the story falls flat, as do all the stories sent out by the agency that creates it.

We have adhered to our ideals for thirty years. When we began the crusade against liquor, a "temperance reformer," as he was called, was a strange sort of human being. Men of intellect tolerated him—or her—and sometimes went to hear the lecture and see the "examples" which once were a part of every such evening. What a change we have seen in public opinion since those days—thirty years ago! So generally are all our present day ideas accepted among business and professional men that the opponent to such ideas is in the position in which the "temperance reformer" once found himself. Railroads no longer employ drinkers. No form of business, not even

the saloons, will give work to a man who drinks! So common-place are the standards we seek now that to enumerate them seems trite. So widely acknowledged are all the pathological facts, once doubted or denied, that we scarcely refer to them any more. From trying to convert a skeptical public we have come to the job of policing border lines to keep out the undesirables, to exclude the occasional shipment of contraband goods, to detect those who would break the state's blockade.

Prohibition is accepted the country over wherever there is a gathering of business or professional men. No man who travels outside his own township or state doubts this. The nation is going straight on to decency.

National prohibition is certain to win. Its complete victory may not come so early as many of us are hoping it will come. But no matter about that. We shall keep on fighting just the same. The enemy is strong and resourceful. In a meeting of the National Anti-Saloon League two years ago \$30,000, seemingly a generous sum, was raised in thirty minutes to fight the liquor power. But the liquor power raised 4 million dollars with which to fight prohibition. That does not discourage us. It only nerves us to fight the harder. Neither 4 million dollars nor 400 million dollars can stop the onward march of prohibition in this country. There is no complete and final solution of all social, moral and industrial problems, but national prohibition is the next great step to be taken in this country and I rejoice that Kansas is regarded all over the country as the leader of that movement.

A TOAST.

From an Address at Scottish Rite Banquet, April 8, 1915.

I ask you to drink with me a toast to this delicious and popular Kansas beverage—the only drink that Kansas

knows on occasions such as this; the drink that Father Adam quaffed in the Garden of Eden before the serpent entered; the drink that Mother Eve lifted in her pink palms and let trickle between the lips of the first born of the human race; the drink of the mighty emperor, the gay courtier, the humble peasant and the abject slave; the drink that sustains the stalwart laborer, the lusty athlete and the fever-tossed invalid; the drink of the man of sobriety and the life-saver of the man of booze on the morning after.

Here, then, is to Water, God's most beneficent gift to man—the favorite Kansas beverage. Whether it dances and sparkles in a tiny rill or lies deep and mysterious in a mighty lake, whether we draw it from deep crevices of the earth or imprison it behind huge embankments, it is for man and beast, for flock and herd, for field and forest, for flower and birds, the magical elixir of life—the vital fluid of all living things. It is a gift of God which we can see fall from His heaven. Let us take it, then, as His gift and pledge ourselves to keep it free from all contaminating poisons.

Here's to Water—the symbol of purity. Let us drink it freely, reverently and joyously, and may it soon become our national drink.

WHAT PROHIBITION HAS DONE FOR KANSAS.

From an Address Delivered in Historic Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass., September 3, 1915

Kansas remembers that it is the child of Massachusetts. And I hope you think that the progress of Kansas does honor to its parentage. It is a grateful and worthy child, now grown to vigorous and powerful manhood and doing its full share in the great family of states. Such a cordial

welcome as this to one of her sons makes me feel that you are pleased to acknowledge the relationship.

Whittier's Kansas emigrant came from Massachusetts to rear that homestead of the free of which we now have so many in Kansas, occupied, as I believe, by the happiest, the most uniformly prosperous, the most industrious, ambitious, forward-looking people on earth.

Of all historic places, we in Kansas particularly venerate this fine old hall. We consider it one of our ancestral places. I feel that it is a distinction to be permitted to speak in it.

It seems in keeping with the hallowed traditions of this spot, where American liberty was cradled, where were held some of the first public meetings in America to protest against human slavery, that this large audience should have assembled to hear what Kansas has done for prohibition and what prohibition and equal suffrage have done, and are doing, for Kansas.

These are but other forms of that human liberty to which the colonists of Massachusetts dedicated and consecrated this fine old building. I question if the thralldom of drink, with all its terrible and far-reaching consequences, is not the worst human slavery of all, a slavery from which we are happily and forever free in Kansas and are hoping and wishing that soon you and every other state may be. We have yet to get this great blessing across the Delaware which Washington crossed to defeat a much lesser enemy of his country.

I am not a politician, nor an orator. It is simply as a plain-speaking business man that I have come before you to tell you something about prohibition as I know it and as we know it in Kansas.

AS A BUSINESS AND A SOCIAL PROPOSITION.

Prohibition promotes wealth and industry. The New York Journal of Commerce and Finance said the other day that Kansas is the wealthiest state in the Union per

capita. On the basis of wealth assessed for taxation the average wealth per capita in Kansas is \$1,629.61. The second state is Massachusetts with a per capita wealth of \$1,353.47, or nearly 20 per cent less.

In assessed valuation, prohibition Kansas not only is the richest state, but the assessed value of wealth is twice as high in Kansas as in the United States as a whole. It is of record that no state in the Union has a higher per capita of wealth or a lower per capita of liquor consumption.

The per capita liquor consumption in the whole country is \$21. In Kansas it is \$3.04. Thus Kansas saves 30 million dollars every year directly thru prohibition. The indirect gain is not subject to computation, but is certainly greater still.

Kansas is not usually counted among the great manufacturing and industrial states, and it cheerfully admits that agriculture is its chief resource, but Kansas by the last census, was the 14th manufacturing state, and its manufactured output was larger in value in proportion to the people employed in manufacturing enterprises than that of any other state except one. The Santa Fe railroad says that labor is more efficient in Kansas than in other states traversed by this great system.

Kansas under prohibition has "reduced the percentage of insanity, emptied her jails and prisons and sold her poor farms."

Insanity due to intemperance has been reduced to 3 per cent. The average for the country is 10 per cent.

New York has just twice as many insane in proportion to population as Kansas. New York is the insanest state. Wisconsin is second.

Thirty-two counties in Kansas abandoned their public farms last year. According to the latest report of our State Board of Control only 898 paupers were being cared for at county institutions.

The prison rate for the entire country is 121 to the 100,000 of population. In Kansas it is 91. The report of

Kansas' State Board of Control shows that 37 per cent of the prisoners received at our State Penitentiary are "floaters" who have wandered into Kansas from other states.

EFFECT ON WEALTH AND PERSONAL CREDIT.

We are told by the kings of finance in Wall Street that Kansas is today the most prosperous state in the Union. This is true. We have 230 millions of surplus wealth piled in our banks and savings institutions and this amount has more than doubled under prohibition. But better and nobler than all this material success is the high standard of citizenship, the fine spirit of justice and fairness that animates the soul of every true Kansan with a little more fervor, I am sometimes tempted to think, than the citizen of any other state.

When Kansas began its rigid enforcement of the law, a great and a wonderful change was effected in personal credit. Butchers and grocers found that the men who were "dead beats" under the saloon's influence, became debtors of reliability and good standing, and that bad accounts were a rarity. Garnishment cases virtually disappeared from the courts.

Taking the average expenditure for liquor in the "wet" states, as a basis of comparison, Kansas is found to be saving more than 30 million dollars every year on this one item, because prohibition has made its drink bill 85 per cent less than theirs. The amount of this saving goes into better home living. Ninety-six of Kansas' 105 counties haven't such a thing as a common drunkard.

Yet we do have violations of the prohibitory law, just as you have violations of your laws, but mainly they occur in the border counties where Kansas adjoins "wet" states and "bootleggers" operate across the line. License New Jersey, with about the same population as prohibition Kansas and prohibition Maine combined, in three years paid 3½ million dollars in liquor taxes to the United States

government. During the same three years Kansas and Maine together paid only \$102,508.

From reports made to the county clerks, under the Mahin law, we know that the consumption of liquor per capita in Kansas amounts to \$3.04. For the nation as a whole the amount is \$21. Can anyone ask for stronger evidence that prohibition prohibits? And this is absolutely the smallest item in the long list of its benefits.

COMPARING A WET WITH A DRY STATE.

A comparison of Kansas, with its next neighbor, Missouri, a saloon and local option state, is strikingly favorable to state-wide prohibition. Note these figures:

	Missouri	Kansas
Age of the states (years).....	94	54
Population.	3,300,000	1,690,000
Saloons.	4,000
Per capita expenditure for liquor.....	\$24.00	\$1.48
Criminals to 3,000 population.....	10	1
Bank deposits per capita.....	\$20.00	\$140.00
Assessed property valuation per capita....	\$300.00	\$1,700.00
Automobiles to every 100 farmers.....	1	24

Liquor crazes few Kansans. The percentage of insanity in Kansas due to liquor is only 3.2 and most of these cases have come in from wet states. In Massachusetts, Virginia, Illinois and New York, "wet" states, the percentage runs from 8.2 to 14.8 per cent. As Kansas laws compel state care or maintenance of every person adjudged insane, Kansas apparently has a higher percentage of insanity than some of the "wet" states, a circumstance eagerly seized upon by the brewers' press bureau to prove that prohibition has done it and that drink and dissipation promote sanity and clean living.

The crime bill is our greatest burden in the United States. Our greatest public debt maker is the saloon license. In 1910 the rate of commitments to prison in the United States was 520. In Kansas it was only 200.

It is still the custom of wet communities to pave the

streets and roads with fines from vice resorts, while these resorts pave the way to perdition for the young people of those communities.

The cities of Kansas that have received no revenue whatever from vice have a lower tax rate than those cities which in the old days stuck to the last to the license-fining system. Today there is no such thing as a slum or licensed red-light district in any Kansas city. Nowhere in all the civilized world are moral conditions cleaner and better than in prohibition Kansas.

A village, a town, or a city is a home on a large scale for the community. It is made up of the smaller homes of families. Its stores and business houses are there to supply the needs of these homes and the homes of the countryside surrounding the community.

What do you think of a vice district in such a place, sanctioned by law?

The town with a vice district is no place in which to rear boys and girls.

WHEN SALOONS GO THE REDLIGHT LEAVES.

A redlight town is no fit place and no safe place for young men and young women to live. Its influence, even, is degrading to mature men and women.

Permitting a fearful cancer of this kind to exist in any community carries with it a far more fearful penalty. It entails generations of suffering. Its contamination ruins thousands of innocent lives. Its human wreckage fills hospitals, asylums and graveyards. The blight of it reaches everywhere in town and country. No community no matter how small or isolated, but has felt this baneful influence and has seen some of its boys and girls fall into the traps of the white slavers.

All this, that under the license system that community may wring a pitifully small amount of revenue from the doomed women of its redlight—some of them its own

daughters. Can there be a more appalling, a more fatuous wickedness?

When we banished the saloon in Kansas, the licensed segregated vice district went with it. Then we realized, as we never had before, that the saloon was and had always been the breeder of the gambler and the prostitute. The gambling house and the house of prostitution are so closely connected and so dependent on the saloon, that when the saloon is compelled to move out of a community they must go, too, as they have gone in our state. As Governor Stubbs, a former governor of Kansas has said before me, prohibition is the doctrine of self defense.

Let me tell you whether you have prohibition or not, that the "good" men and women of every town containing a redlight district are the ones to blame. If they permit the licensing or the segregation of this pollution at their very doors they may be sure that sooner or later, whether they will it or not, it will cross their own thresholds. I can give you no truer warning.

This is the age of conservation. A conservation policy that does not conserve nor promote nor foster nor protect the health, thrift and happiness of the American home—the source of all our strength and vigor as a nation—is blind folly, and an unspeakable sham. The saloon is the father of our idiots and imbeciles in America, the source of nearly all our human wreckage. The drunken father robs his offspring of that which is dearer than life itself and which is every child's birthright—willpower, intelligence, reason! Then why should we permit the institution to exist that makes the creation of drunken fathers a business and which is the recognized source of nine-tenths of all the world's misery, and wretchedness?

CITIES DO NOT MISS SALOON REVENUE.

The last defense of the saloon is that saloon revenue helps pay the taxes. It does, but it does it at a cost infinitely

greater, a cost actually paid in dollars and cents as well as in blood, bones and tears. The saloon, wherever it exists, is our greatest public debt-maker, our greatest public burden.

After the saloons were driven out of Kansas City, Kansas, the state's largest city, for the first time in twenty years that municipality made no debt for current expenses. And this without saloon revenue as its mayor, U. S. Guyer, has recorded in a signed statement.

The first year the saloons were effectively suppressed in Kansas City, it is recorded by a former attorney general of Kansas, that the cost of public prosecutions, which the public had to bear, fell off \$25,000. Another saving was made of \$25,000 by a reduction of the police force. How much was saved the merchants in the better collection of accounts, and how much in other ways was saved the people, cannot be estimated.

This same attorney general, now a member of the Supreme Court of Kansas, was an assistant attorney general when the law enforcement campaign began in Kansas City, Kansas. Kansas City, Kansas, is a city of 100,000 people, just across the line from the larger city of the same name in Missouri. He relates that within a few days, a large delegation of Kansas City politicians came to Topeka to persuade the attorney general to stop his crusade against these joints, as it was their opinion the city could not live without saloon revenue. Also it was urged that the closing of the saloons was driving all kinds of business to Kansas City, Mo., the "wide-open" city, and that it would cost the party the approaching municipal election. These men were informed by the attorney general that the law would have to be enforced, that there would be no retreat.

A year later when another attorney general succeeded him in office, sympathizers with the liquor traffic circulated the report that the new attorney general would not continue the policy of vigorous law enforcement. It was then that this same delegation which a year before had

predicted destruction and disaster would follow the banishing of the saloon from Kansas City, again visited the office of the attorney general, this time to say to that official: "For God's sake! Don't let the old rotten order of things return to Kansas City. We have got away from it and are well rid of it and the town was never so prosperous as now."

BANK DEPOSITS AND BUSINESS INCREASED.

Among these men were Benjamin Schnerle and Myron A. Waterman, the leading bankers, who testified that the closing of the saloons had marvelously increased their bank deposits. There were real estate dealers who reported an increase of hundreds of workmen among home and lot buyers; school enrollment had jumped; dry goods men and grocers noted an improvement in business and that the people were paying bills more promptly than ever before.

It was a revelation to them.

When the saloon was abolished in Wichita, now a city of more than 60,000 people, the weekly clearance increased within three years from \$1,400,000 to \$3,200,000.

So far as I am able to discover, Topeka, the capital city of Kansas, does a bigger retail business, has more home-owning citizens and a smaller police force, than any other city of its size in the world.

The first ten years following the stringent enforcement of the law, the deposits in Kansas banks increased from 69 million dollars to 189 million dollars and the state's taxable property increased at the rate of 120 million dollars annually. These figures seem hardly believable, but they are accurate.

BOSTON BUSINESS MEN URGED TO VISIT KANSAS.

However, I wish to propose something that possibly will be still more convincing to the citizens of Massachusetts. I cordially and earnestly invite your Boston Chamber of

Commerce to send a dozen of its best and keenest business men to investigate conditions in Kansas with particular reference to the results it has achieved with prohibition. Also, I ask that your Chamber send with them the greatest efficiency expert you have in Boston, or in New England, to visit our factories and business institutions and report on the quantity and quality of the output, under similar working conditions, as compared with that of any, or of the average, "wet" community. All Kansas will welcome them, and give them every assistance to ascertain the actual facts, for our people wish the world to know of the blessings and the benefits of prohibition as they have found them.

There also is another reason why we should court such an unbiased investigation by men of ripe business experience, unimpeachable integrity and high standing in your community. Kansas, under the enforcement of her prohibitory law, has made such marvelous advancement in every avenue of progress and well-being that the powerfully entrenched liquor interests, alarmed lest all the states, or the nation, follow its example, have made Kansas the target of their various publicity bureaus. They have covered the entire United States with pamphlets and reports in which statistics are adroitly massed, manufactured and distorted to prove that Kansas actually is damaged by prohibition and that there can be no real prosperity, no actual progress, without the saloon. One side of their argument is as convincing as the other, but the plausible and apparently conclusive and authoritative array of their alleged statistics, puzzle many persons who realize at the same time that they cannot be true or entirely true.

The liquor interests do not fight fairly, and because they cannot, they resort to falsehood and innuendo and subterfuge. What else is left to them? Obviously there is one thing, and one alone, that the liquor interests can do, and that is to wade into the statistical masses of the census,

trusting to the confusing power of twisted figures to make black appear white in the eyes of the average man.

HOW LIQUOR INTERESTS USE STATISTICS.

It is well known to those who have looked into the matter that no dependence can be placed upon figures and illustrations used by the liquor interests. Their literary methods well illustrate the truth of the familiar saying that figures do not lie, but liars do figure. A Liquor Dealers Association of Rome, N. Y., recently said very piously that "God gave us free will and liberty of choice." Quite so. And the liquor business exercises its God-given liberty in lying about Kansas.

A sample of its methods may be seen in the use made of certain statistics. The liquor interests have declared that Kansas has more insane patients in its state hospitals than Wisconsin in proportion to population. That is true, but they omit to say that Wisconsin has, especially in its more populous counties, a system of county hospitals for the insane.

It sounds like a joke when it is charged that Kansas is not progressive, but the liquor people say that Kansas is behind some other states in its laws to protect working women in their wages, their hours of labor and in the conditions under which they work. I cheerfully admit that Kansas is at fault here. But I charge that the liquor interests when they argue this way forget the long list of laws enacted for the social and industrial welfare of her people, especially of her women and children. In this respect she is certainly not behind more than one or two other states.

And I cheerfully make the admission that Kansas has been remiss in providing protection for working women, because I do not assert, and no champion of prohibition asserts, that prohibition automatically solves all a state's social and industrial problems. And I further cheerfully

admit that it is quite to be expected that some persons who believe in prohibition may, when they obtain it, sink into the belief that all other needed lesser reforms will follow automatically in its wake.

But it cannot be truthfully said that Kansas has not been alert to the need of other reforms. Indeed prohibition makes other reforms easier of attainment.

Do the liquor interests really believe that the open saloon would be a good thing for Kansas? Most emphatically they do not. I saw a liquor advertisement recently which declared that the whisky advertised brings "health, wealth and happiness." Does anyone believe that? Do the distillers of that whisky themselves believe it?

When those opposed to prohibition point to the fact that in the matter of laws protecting working women Kansas is behind some other states, do they mean we should infer that the best way to protect the working women of Kansas is to go back to the open saloon?

When they seek, unsuccessfully, to prove that Kansas suffers by comparison with Wisconsin in the number of its insane, do they seriously propose the open saloon as a cure for insanity?

EXAMPLES OF ANTI-PROHIBITION ARGUMENTS.

When a liquor champion recently asserted that 15 states have a rate of divorce lower than Kansas, what did he mean? Did he mean that the open saloon in Kansas would be a cure, in whole or in part, for the breaking up of homes? He overlooked the fact that the divorce rate is higher in 32 other states, and that in nine states drunkenness is not a cause for divorce at all—or did he overlook it? One cannot always be sure.

As a sample of the sort of argument sought to be "put over" by the liquor interests, I direct attention to the article published in the Saturday Evening Post a few

months ago by an official representing the brewery interests, in which as evidence of unusual drunkenness in the city of Emporia, he "quoted" from the Emporia Gazette of a certain date. Later it was proved that the article pretended to be quoted did not appear in the Gazette on the date named nor at any other time.

Examples of anti-prohibition arguments are frequent in all states in which the question is to be voted upon. Advertisements from several such states, such as Colorado, Washington and California, were clipped and sent to me last year. The liquor dealers used space in a California newspaper to publish the statement that the amount of liquor consumed in Kansas is 15 million gallons. In a Washington paper the figures were given as 3 million quarts, or one-sixtieth as much. Both figures are wide of the facts, but the liquor interests are usually weak on facts.

I have laid stress upon the testimony of the people of Kansas themselves. Let me give this testimony in a little detail:

Every governor of Kansas for 20 years has said that prohibition is a great success.

Every state official who has spoken says that prohibition succeeds.

More than 700 Kansas editors and newspaper men in state convention, unanimously endorsed prohibition.

Every political party in Kansas favors the prohibitory law.

No minister in Kansas ever opens his mouth in favor of returning to the licensed saloon, nor any teacher.

The mothers of Kansas say they are satisfied to have their boys grow up without seeing the open saloon. They are not demanding that saloons be licensed in Kansas.

The president of the Kansas Retailers' Association says that prohibition pays.

The Temperance Society of the Methodist church asked

bank presidents in Kansas what they thought of prohibition. One hundred and sixty-six favored the law, while only six expressed doubts of its wisdom.

During its last session the legislature by unanimous vote in both Houses went upon record in a series of strong resolutions telling what Prohibition Has Done for Kansas and emphatically approving it.

Saloon cities which send out advertising literature do not boast of the large number of saloons within their borders, but cities in Kansas put "no saloons" first.

The desire of the people of Kansas is that you shall hear and know the truth about Kansas under prohibition and then draw what conclusions may to you seem warranted.

KANSAS DIDN'T MAKE UP ITS MIND AT ONCE.

This is true, that everything that has been done by prohibition in Kansas has been good. It might conceivably be true that prohibition had done some ill to the state, but that the balance is on the right side. But this simply is not the case. No one can truthfully say that the Kansas prohibitory law, as enforced during the past decade, has been anything but a benefit to the state of Kansas. And it is almost correct to say that no one in Kansas has any other idea of the situation. I admit that at times, in the past, state and local authorities in Kansas have been remiss in enforcing the law. This has been urged as an objection to the law. Queer reasoning this. Just as queer as the reasoning of those who assert that prohibitory laws are faulty because there are powerful, persistent and unscrupulous agencies bent on breaking down these laws.

Isn't it an argument of tremendous significance that the sentiment in favor of resubmission is practically non-existent in Kansas? No one pretends anything else. No political party in Kansas dares any longer to advocate resubmission of the liquor question. One of the great political parties continued for 20 years after the adoption of the

prohibitory provision of the state constitution to declare against sumptuary laws. But this party in its last state platform not only championed prohibition in Kansas, but went upon record unequivocally in favor of nation-wide prohibition.

Altho the political party referred to is not the one to which I belong, I do not question its sincerity now, nor do I question the sincerity of its old-time platform condemning prohibition and calling for its repeal. The change in this party simply reflects the growth of opinion on this question during the last 34 years under actual experience in a prohibition state. When Kansas adopted prohibition by popular vote and by action of its legislature, sentiment in the state was very evenly divided. I believe no one now would assert that 10 per cent of the people of Kansas desire a return to the saloon and the brewers.

The significance of this growth of opinion is plain. Doesn't it show what prohibition has done for Kansas? Are not the people of Kansas better qualified to pass judgment upon the merits of prohibition in Kansas than the people of Wisconsin or New York, who, let us admit, are equally sincere in thinking that prohibition works ill in Kansas and would work ill in those states?

The voters of St. Louis were nearly 10 to 1 against prohibition in 1912. The voters of Kansas have gone on record even more emphatically in two successive primary elections against resubmission as represented in the gubernatorial aspirations of a strong candidate. Are the people of Kansas or of St. Louis better able to decide the merits of the prohibition question in Kansas or elsewhere?

HOW PROHIBITION CONVERTS THE DOUBTERS.

It is my belief that the people of St. Louis, intelligent people as they are, voted against their own interests, most of them in all sincerity. They did not know what they were doing. They were deceived. And the good people

of any city or state who are opposed to prohibition are deceived, deceived too, tho they do not know it, by the specious arguments of the liquor interests, with whose interests and methods, certainly, they are not in sympathy.

The people of Kansas are for prohibition because they have lived under prohibition for a generation. That is the situation in a sentence. The people of other states, most of them, do not believe in prohibition because they have had a different experience, an experience which does not qualify them, whatever their virtues and their intelligence may be, to decide the question correctly.

I have lived in Topeka for 30 years. During all that time I have been in the publishing business. I have therefore had opportunities for wide personal acquaintance. I know many of the older citizens of this city, men for whom I have always had the highest regard, who voted against prohibition in the fall of 1880, but now they are for it without reservation. On the other hand, I do not know of one such respected citizen in Topeka or elsewhere in the state who voted for prohibition then who would vote against it now. It must be due to what prohibition has done for Kansas.

I know many men in Topeka and elsewhere in Kansas who have come to this state in recent years. I mean men of the "good citizen" type. These men, many of them, were against prohibition and were disposed to sneer at it. Almost without exception this disbelief in the prohibitory law sloughs off, the subject does not know how. Under prohibition, as he sees it in actual operation, his views undergo a change, usually a very speedy change. These men recognize the fact that before they came to Kansas they did not know what they were talking about when they denounced prohibition. Some of these men, these good citizens, have themselves been moderate drinkers. Some of them are still moderate drinkers. But I know many

such who are as strongly enthusiastic for prohibition as any life-long abstainer or professional temperance worker.

KANSAS LEADING IN POPULATION GAINS.

Of course there are men in Kansas, a few of them, who do not believe in prohibition, but, as a rule, they are not the class of men whose opinions inspire respect. There are some in Kansas, as in every state—very few in Kansas fortunately—to whom the open saloon is a desirable institution. Some of these make a great deal of noise in Kansas and elsewhere, but are their opinions valuable, no matter how speciously dressed?

It is, I suppose, quite true, as is often declared, that some persons do not come to Kansas to live because of prohibition. No one denies that there are persons of that type. To say that Kansas is perfectly willing that they shall go to other states is an understatement of the true feeling of our people. The man who will not make a home in Kansas for his wife and children because Kansas is a dry state is usually an undesirable citizen. Kansas could well afford to pay such undesirables to stay away.

On the other hand, I know many fine men and women in Topeka who have come here to live and to rear and educate their children because in this city there are no saloons. Kansas and Topeka are perfectly content to be shunned by the other class of citizens and sought by this class. The liquor interests declare that Kansas made a slow growth in population from 1900 to 1910. Well, the relative growth in population in Kansas was greater than in Missouri, Nebraska, Iowa, Indiana, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and only 2 per cent lower than Illinois, notwithstanding its large city, Chicago.

The argument is all on one side. It's like virtue, about which it has been wisely said that "there is nothing to be set over against it." That is to say, you can argue for a week in favor of doing something that is wrong, but at the

end of the week you haven't even begun to justify doing the wrong thing.

As to arguments drawn from Kansas against prohibition, there simply are no such arguments.

If it is good to live in Kansas it is because the people of Kansas have made it so. Kansas people never have dodged a difficulty nor refused to face an issue. Kansas now is a good place in which to live largely because thirty-five years ago we dared to make the open saloon an outlaw, because we were not afraid to attack a curse as ancient as human history and put it from us forever. And now that national prohibition and world-wide prohibition are coming just as surely as tomorrow's sunrise, Kansas has done, is doing, and will do, more to bring this great blessing to you and to others, than any other state.

I freely confess I am proud to be the chief executive of such a state; and especially proud to be the first native Kansan to become its governor; the first to be chosen by the votes of Kansas women. It is an honor any man may be proud to claim.

WHOLESOME EFFECT OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN KANSAS.

The saloon never has been found on the right side of any question. The most hostile and bitter protests against woman suffrage always have come from the vice and saloon element—the evil, corrupt and roughneck element in politics. This ill-smelling crowd has always fought for the sanctity and purity of the home by voting solidly and invariably against woman suffrage.

The adoption of woman suffrage in Kansas has made it easier to elect men of good moral character to office and harder to foist a man of shady reputation on the people. Election day in rural Kansas with the women voting, is more like a big neighborhood picnic than a political fight.

The extension of equal suffrage to the women of Kansas has had immediate effect for good.

It has impelled all political parties to include in their

program and platform humanitarian projects and moral issues which previously they had ignored.

It has made imperative a more careful selection of nominees.

Already it is having wholesome effect in cleansing the state of spoilsman politics and in promoting higher ideals in public and private life.

Kansas is proud of her new citizens and appreciates the great part they are taking in every movement which has for its purpose the betterment of the state.

The immediate passage of wise, humane and beneficial laws for the safeguarding of children and the betterment of conditions of living, which followed the enacting of equal suffrage laws in Kansas, affords convincing proof that the enfranchising of American women is a most important step in the advancement of state and national progress.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION CERTAIN TO WIN.

Complete victory may not come so early as many of us are hoping it will come. But no matter about that. We shall keep on fighting. The enemy is strong and resourceful. In a meeting of the National Anti-Saloon League two years ago \$30,000, seemingly a generous sum, was subscribed in 30 minutes to fight the liquor power. But the liquor power raised 4 million dollars with which to fight prohibition. This does not discourage us. It only nerves us to fight the harder. Neither 4 million dollars nor 400 million dollars can stop the onward march of prohibition in this country.

There is no complete and final solution of all social, moral and industrial problems, but national prohibition is the next great step to be taken in this country. We know that the saloon is making more human wreckage than all other agencies. Why should we, an enlightened people, a scientifically informed nation, continue to license this great curse, knowing it to be our greatest enemy, our greatest

hindrance to national wellbeing, the greatest destroyer of thrift and happiness, the greatest promoter of vice, crime and disorder, the greatest menace to the life of every boy and girl in the land, the greatest source of expense in government and its most corrupting influence! Could anything be more reasonable, more sensible—more necessary—than national prohibition?

RESULTS OF 34 YEARS OF PROHIBITION IN KANSAS.

*From an Address at the Nebraska Chautauqua Assembly,
Lincoln, Neb., August 4, 1916.*

I hope that this fine audience of representative Nebraska people will not misconstrue my reasons for visiting the state to talk about "What Prohibition Has Done For Kansas." I do not come as a reformer nor as a Chautauqua orator. I am here upon invitation as a private citizen, whose interests, financial and sentimental, include Nebraska within their scope.

Nebraska is our sister state and very naturally we Kansans are interested in its progress. At times we have been a bit jealous of that progress, for certainly you have cause for congratulation upon the marvelous headway you have attained agriculturally, educationally and intellectually. I do not believe there are two states in the Union more nearly resembling each other than Nebraska and Kansas, and in saying this I compliment both. No man who sees and hears intelligently could ride across this beautiful state and not be impressed with the signs of advancement evident on every hand. This is not a mere platitude suited to this occasion. It is a self-evident fact as any observer can prove. Nebraska has advanced, I believe, as Kansas has done in all those things that go to make up a great state

except in this one particular. It has not yet enacted a state-wide prohibitory law, but it will do it, I believe, in the next election.

The physical and moral value of prohibition need no longer be urged in presenting this subject for the consideration of most intelligent people. Public opinion thruout the world has made this unnecessary. The only question raised by doubters—some of whom are conscientious, if queer, in their reasoning—has to do with the economic or business viewpoint, and it is to answer this question that I have been asked to come to Nebraska to testify—to tell just “What Prohibition Has Done For Kansas.”

But now we see temperance, or let me say prohibition, so rapidly engaging the best thought of governments in every part of the world, that the liquor interests, driven to extremities, resort to the most daring misrepresentations of conditions in every state where the prohibitory law exists. This attitude has expressed itself in the most brazen mendacity, directed particularly at Kansas because Kansas is the first state most successfully to enforce the prohibitory law. Wherever that law is purposed, wherever it is about to be presented to the people for their consideration, there the liquor interests, thru their paid agents, will be found dragging out the same old tiresome, stereotyped falsehoods about Kansas—lies that have been proved lies time after time until the forces of decency grow weary of the repetition.

When Nebraska adopts state-wide prohibition this fall—mind I do not say “if”—I say when Nebraska adopts this law in November its people may expect precisely the experience thru which Kansas has passed and still is passing with full credit to its courageous people. You must be prepared for this. You must not falter in the coming years when you learn that insanity has increased suddenly in your state; that the poorhouses are filled to overflowing; that business depression is broadcast; that taxes have increased; that crime has grown beyond the crime in any of

the liquor states having twice your population. You must not be downcast when you hear that savings deposits have fallen off alarmingly; that women and children cry in the streets for food; that divorces have increased beyond the record at Reno; that Nebraska, in short, is going down to commercial and domestic decay because saloons have been closed and the breweries brew no more trouble. You will have to realize that this form of libel is the price you pay for decency. You will have to keep the traditional stiff upper lip with the knowledge in your minds and hearts that Right must and will prevail and that the forces of evil will perish just as surely as prohibition has lived and won in Kansas; just as surely as it has proved itself the greatest blessing that the patient and law abiding people of the great and much maligned state of Kansas have prized above every other statute for more than 30 years, a statute that never will be repealed.

When I first went to Topeka there were 50 or 60 saloons. The jails were filled most of the time. The Daily Capital rarely had enough men to do its work the day after pay day. Indeed I got my first job on the Capital because too many of the printers were absent and the foreman was willing to take anyone. It was a wide-open town. Even up to 15 or 20 years ago I believe a majority of the leading business men favored high license under the impression that saloons were needed if the town was to be a live place, and especially for the revenue they contributed. But ultimately, thru a period of observation, of education, these business men learned that they might as wisely license morphine or cocaine. They discovered that their fears about revenues were groundless and that the town lived and prospered amazingly under the rule of decency. When I went to Topeka the men in my trade never had anything except trouble and unpaid bills and headaches. Now, the majority of the printers own their homes, many have motor cars; they have their vacations now, with their families; they are good citizens. Not two weeks ago a printer in the

Daily Capital plant received a check for \$10,000 from the Aetna Building & Loan Society representing his savings and interest. In the same plant, of which I am the owner, we have a savings society with more than a hundred members, which includes printers, pressmen and stereotypers, all of whom save a certain part of their wages every week. The number of arrests in Topeka for drunkenness has constantly decreased, tho our population is steadily increasing.

As a strictly business proposition prohibition has paid big dividends in Kansas. Its strongest advocates in the state are the large employers of labor, the managers of the big railroad properties, and the labor organizations. More than 4,000 men are employed in the Santa Fe railway shops at Topeka—the driest city of its size in the world. Those shops maintain the highest degree of efficiency of any on the Santa Fe system. C. W. Kouns, the general manager, says the books show that they turn out more work, consistently and promptly the year round than any other railroad shops. Seventy-two per cent of the married men in these shops own their homes—a showing that cannot be equaled by any other railway town in America.

On a dollar basis, merely, prohibition has paid. As to the domestic side the records of a survey show that the families of the shop men are, of course, in very much better condition than those in license states. Naturally they have more money to spend. There is far less family trouble. There are fewer divorces. The children and the wives wear better clothes, they live happier lives. The fathers' earnings go to the family support instead of to the saloons.

We are not paying dearly for this decency. The state tax in Kansas is only \$1.25 a thousand, the lowest, with two exceptions, in the United States. Compared with like cities Topeka's taxes are no higher and certainly are not sufficiently burdensome to bring a protest from the people. Any student of such facts knows that no saloon ever contributed enough taxes to pay for the trouble it caused—no one ever heard of liquor interests producing enough

revenue to pay for the police and the jails and the courts needed to hold the criminals the saloons create. It is still the custom of wet communities, in wet or semi-wet states, to pave the streets and roads with fines from vice resorts, while these resorts pave the way to perdition for the young people, but the cities of Kansas that have received no revenue whatever from vice have a lower tax rate than those cities which in the old days stuck to the last to the license-fining system. More than 5 million dollars was spent by the cities of Kansas in the year ending June 30, 1916, for paving, electric lights, parks, waterworks and other municipal improvements, but not a dollar was contributed by the liquor traffic or commercialized vice. To-day there is no such thing as a slum or licensed red-light district in any city in Kansas. Nowhere in all the civilized world are moral conditions cleaner and better than in prohibition Kansas.

Prohibition has been in operation 34 years in Kansas. If the people were not satisfied with the law and the conditions it has produced they certainly could have changed long ago. It seems to me—as the lawyers say—that the people themselves are the best evidence. The surest way to bring about the repeal of an objectionable law is to enforce it. We enforce the prohibitory law in Topeka and in the state and I have seen no disposition to repeal it. Certainly not on the score of taxes.

Enemies of prohibition also assert that it is a failure because the law is sometimes violated. No one, not even the most ardent prohibitionist, will contend that the law is never violated. But I do contend, and the records will bear me out in the statement, that the prohibitory law is enforced just as faithfully and just as effectively as any other law on the Kansas statutes. There has not been an open saloon or drinking place in Kansas for more than ten years. The clandestine sale of liquor has been reduced to the minimum. In my opinion there is not a license state in the Union that does not consume five times as much intoxi-

eating liquor as prohibition Kansas. If Missouri on the east and Nebraska on the north were dry states, the bootlegging business in Kansas would be solved at once.

In order to get specific information on this subject I addressed an inquiry a few months ago to the county attorneys of the state, who are charged with the prosecution of violators of this law. One hundred and two out of 105 counties replied to the effect that the success of the prohibitory law in their sections had long ago been established; that its strict enforcement was expected as a matter of course, and that it was enforced in the same way and with the same efficiency and success as other laws.

Liquor in adjoining states, and the annual influx of harvest hands give our courts the larger part of the criminal cases they try. This is not merely an assertion. The records show it. Such malefactors are not citizens of Kansas. Another thing: When the liquor interests proclaim how many prisoners Kansas has to account for, don't forget that this state has, at Leavenworth, the largest federal prison in the world and that its inmates are from every state in the Union. Remember, also, that Kansas never hangs or electrocutes its prisoners. Naturally our life prisoners accumulate more rapidly than in states where capital punishment is the rule. It is worth remembering, too, that out of 890 prisoners in the Kansas state penitentiary only 12 are women.

In the Montana campaign the liquor interests are giving wide publicity to a newspaper statement which they contend shows that prohibition has caused Kansas to pursue a niggardly policy in appropriating money for the maintenance of its institutions. One writer said that "the appropriations for 1915 exceeded those of 1903 by 91 per cent." The liquor folks have answered their own statement. No state which increases the amount appropriated for the upkeep of its institutions 91 per cent in 12 years can be accused of being stingy. And these appropriations

have not given Kansas a high tax rate as I have shown—only \$1.25 a thousand, the lowest in America with two exceptions.

They never forget the paupers—these saloon writers. They are particularly familiar with poverty. The traffic they defend has created most of it. Kansas, one of the statistical jugglers says, had 908 paupers in 1915. The state spent \$607,500 for the care of the poor, he says. Kansas pleads guilty to spending this money, and gladly. A large part of this amount was expended under the provisions of the mothers' pension law, an act authorizing county officers to extend aid to poor and needy mothers and widows, who from one cause or another have been left without means of supporting themselves and their minor children. This report does not mean that pauperism has increased in Kansas. But it does show that prohibition breeds a desire to help the unfortunate.

But of all the trivial absurdities set forth by the liquor interests about Kansas, probably the most foolish was the assertion that the people's views on prohibition were suppressed by the newspapers. The newspapers certainly could not interfere with the people's vote on this question in November, 1914. Kansas, as doubtless you know, uses the Australian form of ballot. The vote is secret. No one can possibly know how a person votes once he is in the booth "alone," as someone said, "with his ballot, his pencil and his God." In the election to which I have referred one candidate ran for governor on a resubmission platform—in favor of letting the people vote on an amendment to repeal the prohibitory law. This candidate was unable to get on the ticket of any political party, and was accordingly compelled to run on an independent ticket. He received about one vote in ten. That is what Kansas people think of prohibition. There is no "liquor question" in Kansas. Having utterly abolished the saloon, Kansas is rid of the perpetual agitation which is troubling every state

except Kansas. No question is settled until it is settled right.

But why go any farther? If you wish to see the most startling contrast between prohibition and liquor, an object lesson you will never forget, I suggest that you visit, some day, the street in the West Bottoms called "State Line," between Kansas City, Mo., and Kansas City, Kansas. On the Missouri side you will find the ground occupied with saloons and other dens of vice—the lowest in the state. On the opposite side of the street, just across an imaginary boundary line, are industrial plants, sanitary structures, manufacturing properties paying big returns on investments, providing labor for thousands. And you will find that one of the rules of those industries is that no employe may cross the line—the deadline—for the purpose of entering a saloon while on duty. Drinking is not allowed. From that street, which is well named the dead-line, the Missouri police take hundreds of derelicts every year—wrecks of humanity, and many a murder has been committed there. On the Kansas side the police have little to do except to watch for the bootleggers. 'On one side is decency—on the other is death.

EFFECT OF PROHIBITION IN BUILDING SOLDIERS.

From an Address at Wellington, Kan., November 17, 1917.

When I was at Camp Funston, General Wood told me that in his twenty-five years of experience in the army, he never had seen anything like the revolution that had been effected in morale and discipline by establishing the dry zone. He said that under ordinary circumstances the guard house in such a camp as Camp Funston would have an average population of 200. Then, turning to the tele-

phone, he made inquiry as to the number of men under arrest, and learned there was just one. Just one man in the guard house, out of 35,000 soldiers, and his offense was not drunkenness, not brawling, but a small infraction of some little rule.

"Nothing like such order," said General Wood to me, "ever has been known before in a military camp. I find," he went on to say, "that the Kansas boys and men grade far higher in morals, obedience and stamina than the men of other camps in times past. The percentage of vice diseases among them is the smallest that has ever before been found in a camp, and the discipline is the best I have ever seen. We attribute this," said the general, "to the dry zone order, and to Kansas prohibition, which prevent the sale of liquor. These Kansas boys were brought up in clean atmosphere—they started right."

But what General Wood said to me when I came away, I think is the very finest, and the very highest tribute that ever has been paid to Kansas.

"You can tell the Kansas people for me," said he, "that they have got the finest, the cleanest, the healthiest, and the most vigorous soldiers in point of endurance, we ever have seen. The official records show this."

Doesn't that repay you for everything you have done in the past to strengthen the enforcement of the prohibitory law?

THE FRIGHTFUL TOLL OF DRINK.

*An Address Delivered Before the W. C. T. U. Convention
at Topeka, Kan., April 13, 1917.*

In the town of Joplin, in the brewery-ridden state of Missouri, an employer of labor has printed in large type across all his pay checks the words, "Not Negotiable in Any Saloon."

This man, whose name, by the way, is White, had noted

that the checks paid to many of his men bore the indorsement of some Joplin saloon keeper on their backs when returned to him by the bank.

He discovered also that the men whose checks were cashed in this manner were not as well-to-do as the other men, that they were harassed by debt, and that the quality and quantity of their work varied greatly.

Then he bethought himself of the simple expedient I have spoken of, for correcting the evil.

The next pay day, when the drinkers got their checks from the cashier, there was surprise and something like consternation and anger among them.

"Gee! the boss is keeping tab on us," said some of the men. Others resented what they considered an infraction of their liberty and personal rights—the right to spend their earnings when and where they saw fit.

"But it doesn't say that," said several of their fellows, who were listening to this side of the argument, "it simply means we can't cash our checks in a saloon."

Then their minds began to work and they began to see the good sense of this mild form of prohibition, and they took the hint.

This hint is renewed and reiterated every pay day. The result is that the men who formerly cashed their pay checks in a saloon and drank and gambled half or all of it away before they reached home that night, now cash them in the grocery store or at the butcher shop. When they do this they almost always pay the grocer or the butcher what they owe him, before spending any of it for drink.

Before it had seemed to be necessary every pay day to go immediately to the saloon to get their money. Then somebody would stand treat and those who drank with him had to return his hospitality. In this way a vicious circle was established. After a few rounds of drinks, home and duty and all other obligations were forgotten.

But now, not only they do not have to go to the saloon

for their money, but are warned not to, and they get their checks cashed elsewhere.

I am told this simple device has had a great effect in sobering and bettering these men.

Speaking as a business man and an employer, I know that the hardest problem employers of labor have to contend with is the liquor problem. There was a time when Kansas was not free from this curse.

I have seen the ruinous effect of drink on my own men and their work.

I have known it to make a thief out of an otherwise honest, capable, industrious man with a fine home and family.

I have seen fine young men of great promise go down and out and become mere booze-soaked human wrecks.

I have seen gifted, resourceful, useful men, men as steady as a clock, men no one ever had seen intoxicated, cut down before their time and taken to the graveyard by their habit of steady, but temperate drinking.

Whisky is a health wrecker, a home wrecker and a business wrecker.

Many men and women never have used liquor in any form. Others have been so fortunate as never to have had the blight of it touch any member of their family circle. Probably they feel that they themselves are escaping the consequences of this national curse.

There can be no greater mistake than to think this.

The greatest tax we pay in America today is the tax assessed on all of us by King Alcohol. It is huge, enormous. It is so vast a total that it cannot even approximately be estimated.

Liquor drinking, in its many forms, is the responsible cause for fully half the illnesses from which the people of the United States suffer daily. It is the cause of more than half of the accidents.

That you may get a better idea of the burden and the

curse drink is to this nation, that you may know how much it is costing us all, day after day, let me give you some figures.

The great life insurance companies have made and continually are making a close study of national statistics of health and disease. To a great extent their profits depend on a very exact knowledge of such facts. They have discovered that in the United States there are, on an average, 3 million persons ill all the time. Not the same 3 million of course, the figures simply represent the daily average of the ailing the country over. Simply on account of illness 30 million wage earners lose nine days each year annually. This means a loss of 500 million dollars in wages.

Thirty thousand men are killed every year in the industries. Three hundred thousand are seriously injured.

It is estimated that workers in the liquor business lose an average of six years of life. There are 300,000 men engaged in that business, some of them wise enough and strong enough to be abstainers themselves. But the loss of life due to the drink habit in just this comparatively small group of men amounts nearly to 2 million years in a single generation.

Most of this huge loss is preventable. Nationwide prohibition would almost immediately stop half of it. Human life could be extended fifteen years in a single generation.

This could be done by means of a nation-wide prohibitory law and by applying what knowledge we have of preventing disease and accidents. But if we were able only to extend human life one year, we should save an equivalent of more than 2 million lives of 45 years' duration, in the present generation.

We cannot grasp what this would mean to the people of this nation, but let us try. Suppose each one of these 2 million men had an average earning capacity of \$600 a year. The economic saving to the nation in just one year of their labor alone would be 1,200 million dollars! That is just for one year. For all the working years of these 2

million men, between the time they were 21 and reach the age of 45, it would be 28,800 millions of dollars! This is a sum so huge, so colossal, that it is totally beyond all human comprehension. Yet it represents only one way in which nation-wide prohibition would bless us and prosper us.

If we didn't know that this nation tolerates the liquor business, we could never be made to believe that such an intelligent and civilized people would tolerate it. Our government not only tolerates it, but takes pay for licensing the business. Virtually it is a full partner in the booze business and an accomplice to all of its crimes and vileness. Uncle Sam gets 300 million dollars of the dirtiest money the world ever saw as his share of the revenue every year from a traffic which costs him not a cent less than 5 billion dollars! And we have "statesmen" who wonder how we possibly can get along without this revenue, the bribe paid by the liquor interest for the privilege of debauching 103 million people—if it can!

Let me try to give you some idea of what Uncle Sam permits the booze business to do to him in return for this bribe.

It is the cause of 75 per cent of the nation's crime, of 60 per cent of all of its destitution. That alone is a fearful indictment of this national curse.

It also is the cause of 50 per cent of all Uncle Sam's defectives, the children born simple-minded or deformed.

It makes crazy 30 per cent of all of his insane.

It causes every year the death of 100,000 drunkards and makes 100,000 new drunkards out of Uncle Sam's boys and young men.

It ruins every year 60,000 of his girls.

It makes orphans every year of 800,000 of his children.

It causes the murder every year of 3,000 wives. You read of such cases almost daily in the newspapers.

It smothers every year 2,500 babies thru the carelessness of drunken, besotted parents.

It does all this and more to the nation every year that Uncle Sam may get this 300 millions of blood money which costs him 5 billions.

The yearly cost to the nation in the price of the liquor consumed is 2 billions of dollars. The yearly cost to us as the result of licensing this agent of degeneracy, debauchery, poverty and crime, is 5 billions. That is the tax King Alcohol assesses every year on the 103 million people of the United States.

We pay every cent of it and much more besides, in grief, in wretchedness, and in misery. For the privilege of making life a hell on earth in countless homes, for the right to undermine the very foundations of our national life and well-being, for a government license to wreck and ruin, degrade, disgrace and destroy the lives of thousands and tens of thousands of his children every year, the liquor interest pays Uncle Sam this paltry bribe and he accepts it.

If I had to make the choice, I should rather be the accomplice and share the gains of the most brutal cutthroat, than be a full partner—such as the national government is—to the unspeakable crimes of the liquor traffic, the vilest business, the rottenest business, the most evil business done on earth or in hell.

I have no more use for the saloon than the woman has who has a drunken husband. From what I have seen or known of its work, I believe liquor and the saloon have destroyed more lives, made more women and children widows and orphans, ruined more homes, created more grief, sorrow and appalling wretchedness, than a war like the great war in Europe had it continued from the time of Christ down to the present day.

Seeing the ravages booze made in the daily conduct of the business in which employer and employe were jointly engaged, month after month and year after year, business America and industrial America began going dry nearly

twenty years ago. Today we very nearly have nation-wide prohibition in the big industries.

It is known to all employers of labor that in just the proportion a man uses intoxicating liquor, in just that proportion is his efficiency injured and their dependability on him lessened. Therefore, if business men employ such a man at all, the boozier is the first man to be discharged and the last man to be taken on. And this is why prohibition and prohibition sentiment have grown so amazingly from year to year, and particularly within the last year or so.

Science condemns alcohol. Medicine repudiates it. Religion disowns and renounces it. Big business debars it. Twenty-five states have now outlawed the traffic. More than 76 per cent of the area of the nation is dry by law. Almost half of the entire population of the United States now lives in dry territory and is vastly happier and better off for every day since it has outlawed the saloon. The farther away you get from the saloon, the happier and better your condition. Whether you are a drinker or not, you are vastly better off just for living in a prohibition community, because your condition improves when the condition of the community improves, just as water seeks its level. If you are rearing a family of children, the absence of the saloon is a godsend, and the older they get the more you appreciate the absence of the saloon.

Here is the biggest truth in America today: No one thing can do half as much to increase our industrial and our national efficiency as putting the saloon out of business completely and absolutely. This only can be done by adopting national prohibition. It must be done and it will be done not later than the year 1920, and in generations to come men will call prohibition the greatest reform in the history of the world.

PROHIBITION AS A WAR MEASURE

From an Address at Dodge City, May 24, 1917.

I had an interesting letter from President Wilson a few days ago telling me what was expected of Kansas in this crisis. "It will not be soldiers, guns, and submarines alone that will win this war," said the President. "It will be the side that can feed itself longest that will come out victorious. To supply ourselves and our allies with the food that will save us from famine," said President Wilson, "is the most gigantic task ever attempted by this or any other nation."

And the important message to us as Kansans was this: He said to me: "We look to Kansas, one of the greatest grain-producing states of the Union, for leadership in this tremendous undertaking; we want Kansas to do its utmost in this great food drive that is to win the war."

I replied to President Wilson that the people of Kansas fully appreciate this great responsibility. I told him they are willing and eager to do their part; that our boys and girls are working in garden and field as never before; that the farmers of Kansas are going the limit, working longer hours day after day than even they had ever done, and that the acreage in corn, potatoes, and other foodstuffs is the largest the state has ever known. Kansas I assured him, would respond to the country's call in a manner that would be a credit to the state and the nation.

Now, then, it seemed to me that as this state is to have a big part in the great task of increasing the food supply of the nation, it would be entirely proper and indeed my duty for me to say to President Wilson that the people of Kansas who are straining every nerve to increase the food

supply of the nation, are for their part demanding that the greatest national waste of all be eliminated at once, that he urge Congress as a war measure, to enact legislation prohibiting the use of food products in the manufacture of alcoholic liquor for beverage purposes, thus conserving the food supply of the country to the utmost.

I have not only put that demand up to President Wilson and to Congress, but I have requested the 48 governors to join me in that appeal. I am sure it will be good news to you when I report that twenty-six governors already have assured me they will file in Washington a strong second to the motion made by Kansas.

Which will help the more to win this war? A barrel of booze or a barrel of flour? Kansas will go the limit this year and will produce as never before. Kansas will raise this summer, millions of bushels for our allies in Europe, but we have not one bushel to waste on the abominable liquor traffic, the curse of mankind.

The liquor traffic wastes 2 billion dollars of our national resources annually. It uses every 12 months 108 million bushels of grain. Twenty million bushels of corn alone are consumed in the manufacture of liquor, sufficient in food value for a million and a half men for an entire year. There is a great shortage of labor. Never before was there such need of men. The 100,000 men employed in the liquor industry are wanted by the nation for a better business than the manufacture and sale of poison for its young men.

Why not close the breweries, distilleries, and saloons in war-time? Merely to put a higher tax on liquor is preposterous, when to tolerate it is a crime against reason and humanity.

Science condemns alcohol. Medicine repudiates it. Religion disowns and renounces it. Big business debars it. Twenty-six states now have outlawed the traffic. More than 76 per cent of the area of the nation is dry by law.

This should make it all the easier to stop the manufacture of liquor and save 108 million bushels of grain at a

time when thousands of human beings are starving and more millions are soon to face starvation.

Almost half of the entire population of the United States now lives in dry territory and is vastly happier and better off for every day since it has outlawed the saloon.

These blessings of prohibition were with us before the war, but now that we are facing the greatest war of all time, a war which will strain every national resource, nation-wide prohibition is an absolute national necessity and not to compel it, a crime against humanity and reason.

THE CRIME OF USING GRAIN AND COAL FOR BOOZE-MAKING IN WAR TIME.

From an Address at the Larned M. E. Church, April 14, 1918.

We now are fighting a dry Germany. There is no argument at any time in favor of retaining the saloon. But there is every argument in wartime for putting it out of business. In Germany, the kaiser has abolished the brewery and saloon for the war. But today in America they are his best friends and mightiest allies, for they waste our food and destroy our man-power.

Last year we made eight gallons of beer to Germany's one. This year our brewers will manufacture 60 million barrels of beer but Germany's breweries will make none. No beer will be made in Germany this year, but our beer vats will continue to waste our national strength.

The brewers of America are greater traitors than our greediest profiteers. They would encourage every one of our million and a quarter young soldiers to become habitual drinkers. They would deliver the nation up to the enemy for the money there is in the liquor traffic.

The government is asking the good housewives of this country to save food, to economize in every possible way—

and the breweries use more of it in a day than the women can save in a year. Enough grain is wasted to make more than 4 million loaves of bread daily.

Writing from France to the home folks in Kansas, Lieut. Clayton Beach says the poor French and English have seven wheatless, seven meatless, and about three eatless days a week. And while our allies are suffering for food, while they are appealing to us for more foodstuffs that they may keep more men on the firing line—while to send them this food means the sacrifice of fewer American lives—the breweries are wasting more than 60 million bushels of grain every twelve months. I speak for the patriotic farmers of Kansas when I say this state has not one bushel of grain to waste on the traitorous liquor traffic. To give it grain at any time is wicked. To give it grain now is a terrible crime, for it is nothing more than stabbing our boys in the back.

During the zero weather in January, I saw poorly clad women walking along the railroad tracks in Topeka, thrusting their bare hands into the snow to find small lumps of coal, and at that moment great clouds of smoke were belching from the chimneys of the breweries in Kansas City. The breweries are using millions of bushels of grain, 8 million tons of coal and 360,000 freight and refrigerator cars annually. Here are three vital necessities of wartime being used in enormous quantities by a worse than useless industry. There is no possible excuse for permitting such an unessential business as the liquor traffic to operate at all. Last winter we put the entire economic system of the nation out of joint by closing down industries necessary for the welfare of the people and the conducting of the war, and stopped the pay of thousands of needy wage-earners, that the breweries might burn their thousands of tons of coal a day, waste tremendous quantities of foodstuffs, and betray our men in the trenches.

Kansas will have 35,000 of its finest sons in the war this year. In the name of Kansas, I have asked President Wil-

son to give us war-time prohibition. I have asked him to extend to our army camps in Europe the 5-mile anti-vice zone which protects our men and camps at home. And I have asked him to ship American grain to Europe in the form of flour and foodstuffs so the English breweries cannot make beer out of that grain. And I shall keep on asking. I understand the President's views on this question are changing.

The time has come for this nation to say: "Not one more bushel of grain which might go into breadstuffs, shall be converted into beer, and not another pound of coal shall go into its manufacture while this war lasts."

METHODIST CHURCH THE PROPHET OF PROHIBITION.

From an Address at Grace M. E. Church, New York City.

You have kindly invited me, a plain, simply-spoken business man and editor from Kansas to tell you something about one of my state's most famous products—prohibition, prohibition that prohibits, prohibition that blesses and benefits us in Kansas every day and every hour. I am deeply sensible of the honor you do me. And I am more than pleased to be able to say what I may frankly and truthfully say about prohibition before a Methodist congregation. For in Kansas Methodism and prohibition are synonymous.

In Kansas the Methodist church was the prophet of prohibition, just as it now is in the United States. In Kansas, Methodism grappled fearlessly and mightily with the saloon evil in the very beginning. It drove the enemy from hundreds of towns and villages and finally clear out of the state. It is now engaged in driving the saloon from the nation. And it will succeed.

To me, the Methodist church is typically the American

church militant. It is ever engaged in raising the American standards of law and order and citizenship. It gives no quarter to recognized evils. It accepts no compromise with vice. I can say this without prejudice, having been born and reared a Kansas Quaker.

Out in Kansas we believe New York is the world's most wonderful city. In all the world, there is no more impressive spectacle, and few more beautiful, we think, than the vision of the city seen from the water front. Yet the building of this majestic city is not the most wonderful thing you have done in New York. Let me tell you for what thinking Kansans honor you most:

We know that New York state is dominated by the liquor interests.

We know you issue more than 30,000 dramshop licenses.

We know you have no prohibition city in all this state.

But what appears to Kansas to be your most wonderful achievement is that notwithstanding this almost insurmountable obstacle to the popular will, you have made almost half of New York state prohibition territory.

One of our Kansas truisms is, that the saloon is the strongest, most convincing, most powerful argument for prohibition. The fact that you have more than 30,000 of these arguments constantly on the job in this city and state, makes it absolutely certain to us that New York City is before long to go dry. God speed the day, says Kansas.

If a great state like New York, and a great city like New York City, were to seek an effective way to quickly reduce the cost of government, to lessen the number of murders and other crimes, to greatly reduce poverty, and to retire every saloon boss from politics, how could it best be done?

Let me give you just a few scattering facts, gleaned from many sources, which suggest an answer to the question.

Here is one: Governor Withycombe of Oregon reports there were nearly 50 per cent fewer commitments to the

penitentiary of that state in 1916 under prohibition, and that savings banks deposits increased from 35 to 45 million dollars.

The Chicago Tribune kept a record for 10 years and found that 53,556 murders were committed by men under the influence of liquor.

Archbishop Ireland declares that 80 per cent of poverty and 75 per cent of the social crimes are caused by drink.

The New York State Board of Health charges that 24 per cent of all the homicides in New York state during 1916 were due to drink. This does not include New York City. The information comes from coroners and is believed to be much below actual percentage.

For the 230 million dollars in liquor revenue the national government has been collecting annually, the economic loss to the nation thru lowered production and industrial accidents is placed at 8 billion dollars. Next to the national government New York state collects the largest liquor revenue in this country.

In all parts of the United States it has been proved repeatedly that saloons increase taxes and return nothing to the community but misery, disease, poverty and crime. It is notorious that the saloon is our greatest public debt-maker.

During the first year after Waterloo, Ia., went dry, arrests for drunkenness decreased 52 per cent. Arrests for vagrancy 54 per cent. The cost of maintaining the poor fell off 23 per cent. Tax sales declined 29 per cent. Building improvements increased 46 per cent. Savings bank deposits increased 10 per cent.

Coming farther east, after the saloons were driven out of Coatsville, Pa., one merchant had an increase of \$7,000 in his business within three months. A butcher's business in the same town showed a monthly increase of \$500, a baker's a gain of \$150 a week.

Authentic reports similar to these may readily be ob-

tained from cities and communities in any of the twenty-six prohibition states.

But statistics, however illuminating, are dry. Wherever you find the saloon, you find the brothel. Wherever the saloon and the brothel exist, you find debauchery and crime and disease and squalor increasing. And as they increase so do prisons, reformatories, alms houses, hospitals, sanitariums, and insane asylums. They are needed to take care of the human wreckage. Where such conditions exist you have higher taxes, saloon-run government, graft rings and gunmen. Seek further and you are almost sure to find commercialized vice in actual partnership with the city government.

Within the last five years the most shameless public scandals known to the history of this country have occurred in half a dozen American cities. Colossal vice rings have been discovered. Ballot box stuffing and political rottenness beyond belief has been uncovered. And in every case behind this iniquity, was the licensed saloon. Wherever the saloon exists, it must dominate. And wherever the saloon dominates there is blight and ruin and wickedness and no threshold is safe from its contamination.

PROHIBITION'S GREATEST BATTLE YET TO COME.

From an Address at Bethany College, Lindsborg, May, 1917.

Adoption of the amendment to the federal constitution for national prohibition does not mean that the fight is won. The greatest battle for a dry nation is still to be fought—the battle of national enforcement of the law. Every prohibitionist must this year and next year demonstrate the faith that is in him by getting on the firing line of public sentiment in his locality and marshaling that

sentiment in public meetings should there be any slackness shown by local, state or national officials in enforcing the law. This is particularly clear to citizens of states that have enjoyed prohibition for a period of years, for they know how the enforcement question always became a great issue following the adoption of state-wide constitutional and statutory prohibition.

If the prohibition movement, widespread and general as it is, ever needed the aggressive and vigilant support of the people, it will be during the next 18 months or two years. This period will largely determine in the mind of public opinion, the success or failure of national enforcement, especially in the drink-ridden cities. Unless we have effective enforcement there we shall be unable to demonstrate to these populous and skeptical localities the great benefits of the law, and it is here where we must create a public sentiment favorable to prohibition in order effectively and generally to enforce it. It is not going to be a walkaway.

The nation undoubtedly is now to go thru much the same experience that we had in Kansas during those early years of prohibition but not, I think, for so long. Just as Kansas' experience has been valuable to the states that later adopted state-wide constitutional prohibition, so the nation is to profit from the experience of Kansas. It has been the fate of Kansas to be the storm center of prohibition as it was in its territorial days the storm center of the fight that ended in the extinction of human slavery. In pioneering in both these great causes she became the target for the shafts of irony and abuse of the interests that suffered from the triumph of these great causes.

For many years it has been fashionable for the liquor interests to point the finger of scorn and obloquy at Kansas but thru it all Kansas never lowered her lance and now she finds herself justified by the adoption as a national policy of the principle to which she has so long adhered as a state policy. In the rocky road her people have

traveled to this triumph, however, Kansas has had to listen to the most absurd and unfounded of charges made by the liquor interests. It was vehemently charged and widely published that insanity had suddenly increased in the state; that the poorhouses were filled to overflowing; that business depression was broadcast; that taxes had increased; that crime had grown beyond the crime in any of the liquor states having twice the population. Kansas people had to refute the baseless charges that savings deposits had fallen off alarmingly, that women and children were crying in the streets for food, that divorces had increased beyond the record at Reno, that the state was going down to commercial and domestic decay because the saloons had been closed and the brewers were not permitted to brew more trouble. This form of libel was the price Kansas had to pay for decency. Thru it all Kansas had to keep the traditional stiff upper lip in the knowledge that right would prevail and the forces of evil would perish. But at the end of a period of more than thirty-five years prohibition has proved itself and the much maligned state of Kansas finds itself the honored pioneer in the nation-wide fight to secure similar blessings to the people of the whole nation.



EDUCATIONAL AND INSPIRATIONAL TALKS

Arthur Capper always has shown great interest in young people. His concern has been not merely for the tots who attend his annual birthday parties or picnics, but for the youths and maidens of high school age and on up to the young men and young women emerging from college and other youthful activities into the serious responsibilities of adult life. Selections in the following pages are from this type of addresses.

OPPORTUNITIES IN KANSAS FOR YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN.

*From an Address at Caldwell, Kan., High School, May 16,
1917.*

I have talked a great deal to young men and women and boys and girls just finishing high school about the opportunities there are for them in Kansas. And I believe I am right when I say that in no place in the world will they find a field for greater usefulness, or a better chance to make something out of their lives than right here in their native state. I know the lure of the big city. I know how the white lights beckon, and how the stories of country boys who have left the farm and have grown rich and powerful in the city, appeal to the youthful imagination. The stories are true enough, too. Why, if you'd take the

country-bred men and women out of Chicago and New York, you'd have very few of the real leaders left. The big preachers, the leading lawyers, the principal business men and bankers, the doctors, the manufacturers—put them all together and you'd be surprised to find how large a percentage of them began their education in the little country school house.

Yes, the country boy often rises to high rank in the city. The city must draw new blood from the country or it loses its vigor. But that isn't the whole story. For every country boy who goes to the city and makes a name for himself, ninety-nine make an utter failure. They are unused to city ways. They don't know the cold and heartless game of life as played in the city. There are so many blind-alley jobs that lead nowhere. So many hand-to-mouth jobs that get young fellows in ruts and sap their ambition and take all their "pep." In the city you must compete with thousands instead of hundreds, or less than hundreds. The competition is so fierce, the struggle is so great that only the exceptional man and woman, here and there, ever can hope to succeed. And to fail in the city is so much more hopeless than to fail in the country. You can win in the country. You are not down and out. You can try and try again, and you always get more out of life.

A man doesn't have to be a great and shining light to get along in the country. If he behaves himself and does the best he can he keeps the respect of his neighbors and has his place in the community. He doesn't have to be a Napoleon of finance, nor a coal baron, nor a merchant prince, in order to be somebody and amount to something. If he has bad luck, or goes broke, or meets with disaster of any kind, there are always plenty of friends and neighbors to hold out a helping hand. But in the city, if he fails to land on his feet, right-side-up-with-care, it's "good-bye, John" for him.

It is not that the people of our big cities are naturally more brutal or more heartless than country people. Not

at all. But they "play the game," as we say, in a different way and they scarcely take a moment's time to do anything else. Here in Caldwell you have enough sympathy and consideration and brotherly love to go round. But how would it be if you had a million people, or 2 million people crowded into this country, many of them suffering for want of the common necessities of life? What would you do then?

Why I'm afraid most of us would do exactly as the majority of people do in the cities—become callous and hardened and indifferent. We would content ourselves with giving a few dollars occasionally to some charitable institution or organization, then get busy with our own affairs and forget everything else. There is so much grief and suffering in cities, and all the time, that it is an old, old story. You "get used to it." You expect it.

God help the man or woman who loses out in the struggle for existence in a great city! I have seen the bread line on a cold winter's night in New York; I have seen the shivering mass of humanity around the 10-cent lodging houses in South Clark Street, Chicago; I have seen strong, stalwart men trying to support a family on a mere pittance in a city where absolutely every necessity of life with the exception of the air they breathed cost two prices, and even the air was polluted and foul; I have seen young girls from the country lose their bloom of health and often the more precious bloom of innocence in a struggle to earn a tiny wage in a store or shop, and as I have seen them, I have cried out to myself:

"Why, oh why, do you come here? The great plains of the West have a place for you. There is room and to spare; there is work to do. And more than that, there are neighbors who grow to be friends. There are kind hearts and sympathy. There is a chance to grow into something worth while!"

In our modern scheme of things, great cities seem to be a very necessary evil. And it is necessary that somebody

lives in them. Somebody must sell ribbons, somebody must shovel coal, somebody must print the newspapers, somebody must clean the streets and somebody must do the city's dirty work. But why must that somebody be you? You who have the opportunity of living a free and happy life, you have the chance to do well, to live well and to some purpose on a Kansas farm. Unless you are very, very sure that you have exceptional talents in some certain direction; unless you are sure that you are a great genius and that you can't help it, you cannot do more for the world or more for yourself than to stay right here and help develop this good state into the greatness that surely awaits it.

And after all, my young friends, we are very apt to get a greatly distorted idea about what constitutes greatness; and about what makes life worth while. If you go to buy a horse, you don't judge his value by the sort of work he happens to be doing. He may be hitched to a dirty street cleaning cart, or going up a back alley, or he may be decked out in flashy harness and drawing the golden chariot in a circus parade with a \$10,000 beauty weighing 250 pounds holding the lines—but what you want to know about him is whether he's sound in wind and limb and what sort of a disposition he has. You don't value him for the kind of work you find him doing, but for doing that work well.

And I have an idea that the Great Overseer of the Universe doesn't judge men by the importance the world attaches to the job they happen to hold down in this life. Some of us get into the circus parade and thousands look on and applaud; some of us pull a load twice as heavy and ten times more worth while up a back street where no one sees us; but our real worth to ourselves and to the world depends upon our ability to do the job in front of us. That's what counts. So many of us "kill our engine"

every time we get in a tight place—and then the driver has to get out and crank us up all over again.

I said something awhile ago about getting rich on a Kansas farm. I don't mean making a million dollars. I don't mean getting so much money that you have to struggle like poor old Andy Carnegie to find some way to get rid of it. I don't mean growing to be like John D. Rockefeller, who pays so much income tax that he's ashamed to tell how much it is. Or maybe he really pays so little he's ashamed of it. Anyway he won't tell. No, I don't mean getting to be a bloated bondholder or anything like that. The cities produce enough of them. Kansas needn't go into that business. What I mean by growing rich in Kansas is getting a competency; owning a good farm well-stocked and well-tilled; a farm which when rightly farmed grows more valuable every year of your life. But that's only the foundation, that is only the beginning of your riches in Kansas. You grow rich in friends, friends who will stand by you thru thick and thin, friends who are worth more to you than all the money in the world.

If you will pardon a personal reference, I wish to say here that Kansas has been mighty good to me for fifty-one years. The people of Kansas have helped me build up one of the big business concerns of the state. They have invested a lot of money in the printing and publishing plant I call mine in Topeka. They have seen fit to make me their chief executive twice, but it is all as nothing when compared with the genuine friendship that so many Kansas men and women and boys and girls have given me. You may take all the rest if you will leave me my friends. I don't know, maybe I'm a little prejudiced, but it seems to me friends are a little truer and friendships a little warmer in Kansas than in any other spot on earth. I haven't been in all of them, of course, and so I can't be sure; but that's the way it seems to me.

And while your farm is growing richer and your friends are coming closer, you are also growing richer in opportuni-

ties. You know, in reality a man doesn't have to join the army or go to the battlefields of Europe in order to be a hero. Sometimes he's a bigger hero if he stays at home and pays the grocer and keeps his children in school. And a man doesn't have to go to the slums of the great cities in order to find an opportunity to help the poor. Maybe the man working on the next farm needs help and consolation, encouragement and sympathy. An ambitious young woman need not go to New York City to do settlement work. She can settle down at home and help her mother and employ her spare time if she has any left, in making her home community happier and better. A man need not necessarily go to Washington to become a statesman or a patriot. He can pay his taxes and perform all the duties of citizenship in his own township.

Kansas is full of opportunities for the employment of all the surplus energy of every citizen. We are proud of the progress we have made as a state in a little more than half a century; but there are many things we need—Oh, so many. No Kansas man or woman need go gadding about the world looking for opportunities to do good—looking for work that is worth while. We have plenty to do at home.

Kansas is a prosperous state as prosperity goes, but we are only beginning to come into our own. The population of this nation is growing by leaps and bounds. In the next thirty years, by the time the young people within the sound of my voice have reached the prime of life, the population of the United States, at the present rate of increase, will be more than 175 million people. These people must be fed, and Kansas will be called upon to provide her full share of the bread and butter and beef and pork that they will need. That means a greater market for the products of every acre on every Kansas farm. That calls for better farming methods; for greater yields an acre; and most of all for more brains in farming. Agriculture has become a science with unlimited possibilities. It requires more brains today to run a farm successfully than was needed

for the biggest mercantile business a half century ago; and the world stands ready, now as always, to pay for brains. Kansas farms are big with opportunity—and if we keep our wits about us and don't let the market speculators get all the profit, the opportunity will grow bigger every year.

I have given you reasons why I think it is better to stay in Kansas. In closing I should like to hammer into your consciousness just this one fact, for it is absolutely true: The people of Kansas are better off, they have the best prospects, and I think they are to have the greatest future, of any people now on earth. There is no other place to go—or to stay in—unless it is Heaven. I advise you to stay in Kansas until you are ready to go there.

PRACTICAL EDUCATION THE NEED OF THE DAY.

*From a Commemoration Day Address at the Pittsburg
Normal and Manual Training School, Pittsburg,
Kan., March 31, 1916.*

I am glad to be with you on this great day. I have come most willingly because I am as interested in this institution and as proud of what you are doing here as you are. But I wish to talk with you rather than to make a speech.

It is as a busy man, as a working man, that I have come here to help celebrate Commemoration Day and I am convinced that nobody ever had better cause to celebrate, or to commemorate the founding of this great school than you have.

We have all heard time and again that "a thing of beauty is a joy forever." I should like to change that a little and say it this way, that a piece of work well done, be it great or small, is a thing of beauty and a joy forever. Therein is the true happiness of work and the true work-

man cannot be happy without that satisfaction and happiness, no matter what his wages may be.

Commemoration Day has some such meaning for this great school, I take it, and for every person connected with it. You have rounded out another year. Sighting back to the principles on which this school was founded, running a line from the beginning, you measure the truth of its work this year and note the progress of the school. But, you, yourselves, are the school.

We do well to cultivate this workman-like pride and workman-like pleasure over work well done, over duty faithfully performed. It is thru this joy of work that we gather more courage and more determination to go on; that we feel the glow of that fine thing called inspiration which leads us to attempt and to master more and more difficult work. And to do this is one of the greatest, one of the wholesomest, one of the most substantial and one of the most satisfying joys of life. In Genesis, you remember that it says when God created the heavens and the earth, He saw they were good. And on the seventh day He rested. God gives all of us this joy in all our well-doing. This satisfaction is our higher reward. It is the wages of the Master.

When I learned from Dr. Brandenburg that in twelve short years, and from a most modest beginning, the enrollment of this school had increased from 143 students in 1903 to 2,450 in 1916, that every week its extension work was reaching teachers in 24 Kansas towns and cities, that the manifold cultural influences of this great training school of mind and hand were becoming more and more widespread, I comprehended more fully the tremendous significance of its work for the greater and the nobler Kansas of the future, the bright sunrise of which we already are glimpsing on the horizon. For everywhere thruout Kansas the people are feeling a great quickening, but nowhere are we building more substantially and more ideally for that future than here at Pittsburg. And you, my for-

ward-looking young friends, who, scarcely conscious of it, perhaps, have felt this quickening spirit and been drawn here; you who have made many sacrifices to come here, you are to play a greater part and do more for your state and for the home communities and for yourselves in the years to come, I am convinced, than any like number of young Kansans it has ever been my good fortune to see. The work in which you are engaged is all so far-reaching, it is to be so potent, so powerful, so truly patriotic and so permeating an influence, that now we can only partly comprehend it. It seems rather more a glorious vision than a reality. Yet you, and we, are going to realize this vision, for I am satisfied we much underrate rather than overrate these great probabilities. I ask you to accept this as the opinion of a practical business man.

It is something like this that I feel this Commemoration Day marks, that it will stand as one of the great milestones of Kansas progress.

This great state-building institution justifies your pride in it and the pride of Kansas in it. It is doing an urgently needed service for the state and for you, and it is doing it remarkably well. You Kansas young people who are its students, are fortunate in having such a place to come for that training which is to make you skillful, efficient, and resourceful men and women and high-grade citizens, useful to your home community and to the state and able to look life in the face, frankly, independently and unafraid, because you are being fitted to meet it on every practical ground, to offer it something vital which the world has always needed, has heretofore so seldom received, and always will welcome wherever you may go; for there are so many ways in which your training will prove useful, it will open so many avenues and so many opportunities to you, that you will somewhere among them all find your especial niche and earn the Master's wages of happiness and well-being while you are earning your daily bread in giving to the world what it rightfully demands of you and

all of us. But best of all, I hope, you will prove to the world that here in Kansas we are producing a higher, a newer and a finer and nobler type of citizenship than any the world has yet seen. I think we are well on the way to just that. And that it will be such schools as this one and such training as you will get here and take in turn to other potential citizens, either by the influence of your personal example or as teachers, that will bring this about—and first of all right here in Kansas—where we still hold to old-fashioned virtues, where life is so much simpler and natural, where the moral atmosphere is so much cleaner, vital, bracing and vigorous, and where physical and spiritual health abound. In these conditions and with these advantages we are as Kansans most divinely blessed and for that very reason more is to be demanded of us. You, my young friends, are to be in the very vanguard of this great movement. Strive with all your might when you leave this place to prove worthy of your great mission, do not betray it. Be manly men, womanly women, upright, honorable, fair, kind, generous, patient, clear-minded and clean-minded, strong-hearted and industrious, and you will bless yourselves as well as others. That is the successful life. There is no other so truly successful.

The old idea of what constitutes an education is undergoing a great change. Not so many centuries ago education, except for the priesthood, was for the favored few, for the nobility; for those who had no need to labor because they were supported in elegant idleness by others just as good as they were, but who were not born to position and wealth and titled rank. As they were not compelled to be self-supporting or to make their way in the world by their own exertions, this favored few was given an education not of brain and hand but of mind and manners and graces suited to their station. It was an education much more ornamental than really useful and practical. It was for dreamers, for those aloof from life's deeper interests, for those who were looking in a desultory way for some higher

amusement and occupation than that of gaming and hunting, or of brawling and fighting, or of the mere pursuit of pleasure.

As the world in its slow progress toward democracy and equality moved forward toward modern times, this education in the elegancies of life, by gradual steps gave place to the classical education for the learned professions. Education still was intended only for persons of means and abundant leisure. Not until America and the birth of a new democracy in the new world provided public schools for everyone, and not much before the present time, have we had a system of education combining the modern element of training for mind and hand, a training for those whom the world needs and is calling for more and more insistently as human life and human wants become more complex and a thousand skilled industries and occupations have sprung up where one existed before. Even now, in well-to-do and enlightened Kansas, more than 85 per cent of our future citizens are going forth to their life work without preparation for the treadmill of daily life. And to them, I fear, it will be a treadmill indeed.

Today everywhere the demand is for the skilled man and the skilled woman, for men and women who have been taught to do something useful superbly well and who take a personal pride and interest in their work. And this demand is going to grow and grow, and is growing, so rapidly that Jack and the beanstalk are not to be compared with it. The world—that part of it with which we touch elbows as well as the remainder—now demands to have its work well done. It insists on thoroness, a good first-class job with the shine of quality on it, put there lovingly by the hands of the workman who loves his job. The slipshod workman, the careless workman, the hit-or-miss workman, and the happy-go-lucky fellow, and the untrained, unskilled man or woman—whether the worker is occupied with the management of a home or is attempting to provide the living for one—well, they had better been born rich.

We must bring the school and the home, the school and the shop, the school and the farm, the school and the church, closer and closer together.

Wherever we are, whatever we do, we always shall find that knowing how is the greatest thing in the world. It's not alone in the dollars that it puts in the pocketbook or the bank, in the bonds that it stacks up for us in the vault that counts—it's in the splendid, superb, magnificent, deep-down satisfaction that it gives us when we do a thing and do it right. That's why "know-how" is the greatest thing—and why it pays best.

Modern education should, and I think will, educate mind and heart and soul and body, but it must educate head and hand. To come out of school with a smattering of accomplishments and a dislike or a disdain of work, or of labor, is almost worse than never to have entered school at all.

To do one's daily work efficiently, to earn a bit more than one spends, to tell the truth always and to all men, especially to your employer, to be gentle and just to one's neighbors, to be a light maker for those who can make no light of their own—to do these things seven days in the week, 52 weeks in the year—will earn you the right, I believe, to call yourself a good neighbor, a good citizen and a good Kansan.

In my opinion one great evidence that education and home-training is not a failure in Kansas, is that in Kansas patriotism—true patriotism—is a household virtue. Our Kansas boys and girls are Americans, every inch of them. And I believe it will not be difficult to inspire in them as men and women, the desire to make an intensely practical and effective use of this patriotic feeling; to turn their patriotism and their training into patriotic action, and so, live it.

What a great thing this would be for Kansas and the nation.

It is a great satisfaction to me to know there are so many young men and young women of this kind in this big audi-

ence. No young people, I am sure, have finer prospects. Let me urge you to be missionaries of this new gospel of education—and first of all—here at home, in your native state. Kansas needs you. Kansas will appreciate you. And I believe, taking every condition into consideration, life in Kansas has most to offer you. Don't go away from Kansas. With all its fine resources, all its almost limitless possibilities, it needs every trained man and woman it has produced. It would be a poor testimony of gratitude to desert the state that made you. No country in the world, no other state, holds better chances for the man willing to do his part in life, not alone for material success—for that would be a poor conception of life's duties—but also for the ennobling opportunities to be found in public service.

The philosopher, the poet, the dreamer, all have their place in the world. They are the inspiration of the men of action; they keep us in touch with the eternal verities. But now the world's work is done by men and women of skilled hands—men and women schooled and trained in doing—by men who can make two blades of grass grow where one grew before; by women who can sweep a room, teach, or manage a home with equal skill. I trust I am not lacking in appreciation of higher education—indeed, I am sure I am not; but I know that the youth of Kansas, the boys and girls who in a few short years are to till our fertile fields and carry on the daily business of our common life, must first of all be skilled of hand and quick of eye and trained in the common things that make civilization possible and life wholesome and worthy.

And so—perhaps because my early education was for the most part acquired thru my fingers at the printer's case—I am especially interested in the work which this school in Pittsburg is doing in manual training. I consider it one of the most important factors in our educational system. From the utilitarian point of view, I believe it is the function of our public school to train our youth for their life work—to develop in them the ability to earn a

livelihood. From the cultural viewpoint, I am sure that the boy and girl who have been taught to do things, whose hands and eyes are trained, develop mentally and morally and spiritually, more rapidly and more fully than do the youths who lack this training. I rejoice that the idea for which this school stands has been so extensively incorporated into our common school system, and I hope to see its extension. I believe we have only started this work, and we shall need more trained men and women to carry it on. It is to this institution that we must look for these leaders and teachers, and Kansas must see to it that our manual training school in teaching staff and in equipment shall not be out-ranked elsewhere. We must go forward as rapidly as our means will allow.

Above all should we strive to maintain that spirit of simplicity, industry, democracy and fellowship so befitting the patriotic Americanism that is and ought to be the atmosphere of this school and this state; that broad sympathy with human endeavor, in shop, field, street and office; that love of home and state and country so deeply ingrained in the heart of every true son and daughter of Kansas and which sooner or later inspires every one of us to do his or her best to contribute, in every possible way a devotedly loyal, home-loving citizen can contribute, to the upbuilding of his community and the progress of his native state, those sterling qualities of citizenship expressed in ungrudging civic service; the spirit of human brotherhood which holds all mankind in friendship and leads us to strive patiently with the erring and to give happily a helping hand to an overburdened neighbor; that respect and chivalry for womanhood and old age which prompts us intuitively to forget ourselves in their service, a chivalry like that of Lincoln's as far surpassing the merely social graces as the natural nobility which springs from a noble heart surpasses the shallow and artificial assumption of this inward grace. For while this school is teaching clean and clear young minds and willing hands to shape, fashion

and transmute nature's gifts into a more potent usefulness, it also is shaping, fashioning, dedicating and glorifying the lives of you who represent the best type of our purposeful, forward-looking ambitious young people, to be the missionaries here at home, in your own state, of the new day that is dawning in America which shall lift state and nation and then the world to higher, better, happier things thru thrift, service, simplicity, harmony and co-operation, to that fuller, richer productive life that the genius and skill of man warrants as the promise of this new and coming age.

So I ask for practical, up-to-date, present-day schools like this Pittsburg State Manual Normal Training School—schools that will be of direct practical service and that will widen the opportunities of every boy and girl in Kansas.

Ours is the duty and these are the times when Kansas men and women must line up more unanimously than ever Kansas has lined up before, behind every man, behind every movement, behind every public measure that is right, that is just, that is for the betterment of mankind, for the advancement of human progress and public service, irrespective and regardless of any and all other considerations and consequences whatsoever.

Let us earnestly resolve that every day we live we shall endeavor with all the earnestness we possess to make Kansas greater, cleaner, happier, better, that we may ever deserve true happiness and genuine prosperity, as well as merit the honor and esteem of generations here and yet to come, and crown our lives with the wondrous satisfaction that comes of doing God's work.

IMPORTANCE OF GETTING STARTED RIGHT.

From an Address to County High School Students at Emporia, Kan.

Your principal has asked me to tell you something about my own boyhood and school days.

This will give me a somewhat better opportunity of proving to you how useful is training in self-reliance to a boy. I don't mind telling you that a good many years ago I was just an average Kansas urchin with no signs of wings where angels are supposed to grow them, but no boy ever had a better father and mother. They were good Quaker parents, members of the Quaker church. William Penn, you remember, was a Quaker. In the early days of American history many of the colonists were Quakers. I now know how lucky I was to have such a father and mother. You will someday realize, yourselves, if you are not already realizing it, how devoted your parents are to you, how concerned about your future interests, and how much better fitted to guide you and to advise you than you are yourself.

At times I thought my parents were pretty strict with me. In this they would be called old-fashioned parents nowadays, but long ago I began to find out how wise and how sensible they were in being strict, for it was from this very training and discipline that all my life I have most benefited. This practical home training proved a rich legacy to me and for many years I have been zealously preaching to my young friends the gospel of work, of self-reliance, of sobriety and economy. I believe in helping our boys and girls to help themselves.

I had a mother that any boy must have loved and re-

spected. As I look back I can see how patiently and how kindly she labored to make me the right sort of man, the man she wanted me to be. This, I think, is every mother's mission. It was my mother's ambition. She wanted her boy, always, to be fair and square, dependable and honorable. She wanted him to have good habits.

Both my father and my mother taught me to be industrious and they did it by precept and by example. My father believed that every boy should earn his own spending money. We lived in a little town in a house that had a very large yard. In the summers we went to the country. I began as a small boy to work in what, nowadays in Kansas, would be considered a large garden, and father paid me what I earned, just as he would have paid anyone else. In this way he taught me how to save and how to spend money in the way that would be of most benefit to me.

I worked during every vacation and every Saturday while going to school. In the meantime I was learning the printer's trade in the country printing office where our weekly newspaper was printed. Our country high schools in those days, thirty-two years ago, were by no means as good as yours are, or as such high schools as we now have in Kansas. They taught about as much as may now be learned in the eighth grade. Thanks to my mother's inspiration and to the watchful encouragement of my teachers, I was able to lead my class of ten in this school and was chosen its valedictorian. We had the graduation exercises on Friday and the next Monday, at the age of 18, I had left home and started out looking for a job. I found work at my trade in Topeka on the Daily Capital, afterwards becoming its owner.

Notwithstanding that I have succeeded as a publisher and a business man, I have always felt the need and have always regretted that I had no college training. There was not then the opportunity in Kansas there now is for a boy or girl to get such an education, nor was it then as

necessary as it is now to have such an education. Nowadays any boy or girl with a little push and determination and the right sort of stuff in them can work their way thru college in Kansas. At Lawrence, at Manhattan, at Baldwin, at Topeka, at Emporia, at Hays and at Pittsburg and other educational centers in Kansas, I learn that at least half the Kansas boys and girls now are working their way thru college. It is just such students as these who do the best work, who make the best use of their time and their opportunities and who put what they learn to the best use. They benefit themselves and their home communities and the state by the use they make of their knowledge, and they become successful men and women and useful citizens. Our best and most successful men and women in Kansas are now coming up in this way and I urge you to follow in their footsteps.

That parents can be too strict as well as too lax, I believe we all know from observation if not from experience. Many parents fail to realize that as boys and girls grow older they are to be treated less like children and more like men and women and companions and equals, which is the final and ideal relationship.

In a newspaper the other day I read of a young woman 20 years old who ran away from a home of wealth and went to work as a house girl for a family in a neighboring city. It was all a great mystery until it came out that this young woman never had been allowed to have any young men callers; never had been permitted to go to any entertainment except with one or both of her parents; that even when she left home in the afternoon she was required to call her mother on the telephone and report what she was doing and when she was coming home. At 20 years some of these precautions at least were unnecessary. Was it any wonder this young woman in final revolt at such nagging interference with her every action and with the innocent emotions and sentiments experienced by every healthy, wholesome girl, should run away from home? Yet—so

read the newspaper account—who were so amazed and dumfounded as these same misguided, overstrict parents who were treating a grown woman as if she were a child?

Last year 1,439 girls and young women disappeared from homes in New York City alone; 50,000, I am told, are lost in the United States every year. The head of the police department in New York City, whose duty it is to trace missing girls and investigate these cases in greater New York, says the chief cause of these disappearances is lack of freedom or severity on the part of parents.

These same problems also come up in dealing with boys. A great and successful teacher of boys once said to me, "See everything but overlook much." In other words he argued for the necessity of watchfulness, without the appearance of perpetual guardianship and nagging and undue interference. Unfortunately there is no school for parents other than their own childhood and sometimes parents forget they ever were young. It is a great responsibility, this rearing of boys and girls by parents and this rearing of parents by boys and girls. But in Kansas I hope to see them work together on terms of mutual respect, affection, obedience and companionship, the ideal home relationship and the best promoter of good citizenship.

HOME MAKING OUR MOST IMPORTANT BUSINESS.

*From an Address to High School Students at Waterville
High School, May 19, 1916.*

The world's greatest business, the world's most vital business is the business of home-making. A state or a nation is no stronger than its homes. No home is better than its homemaker. The health and well-being, the fate and the future of the members of every family are largely in the hands of the homemaker or the home manager. Yet

some of us have heard young women boast that they do not know a thing about housekeeping, that they couldn't boil water without scorching it. And notwithstanding the best wish, the dearest wish, that men and women who have seen and know life wish for every girl, is that some day she shall have a home of her own and that it shall be a happy and a successful home. These terms are almost synonymous.

But how much can a girl who cannot boil water without burning it, who never sewed a stitch in her life, who hasn't the practical knowledge of how to cook a meal—how much can such a girl contribute toward making a home successful? Wouldn't she be about as much of a hindrance to a successful home as a good big mortgage on the house, in fact, a dead-weight and a drag? Cannot many domestic failures, many broken homes, much ill health in families, much hardship and poverty, many separations, and much marital unhappiness be traced to such lack of domestic training in thrift? How are young people to manage in these days of high prices which tax the managerial ability of experienced housekeepers, if they don't know these things?

I think we will all agree it never was more important than it is today that every girl, whatever her station or condition in life, should be taught how to cook properly and manage a house intelligently and in conformity with established scientific rules and principles. No woman's education should be considered complete until she knows how to manage a home successfully. It is vastly more important, it seems to me, than any knowledge of the dead languages. Six of our great American colleges for women, I am told, demand four years of Latin, but none of the girls at any of these leading schools for girls is required to know, or is taught how, to cook, how to make her own clothing, or any of the things a girl should know if she is to become a successful homemaker and this we never should forget is the world's most important business.

AN AGE FOR THE YOUNG MAN AND WOMAN.

*From a Commencement Day Address at the Cherokee,
Kan., High School, May 5, 1915.*

You young men and women of 1915 have the brightest future, I believe, that ever has been presented to graduates of this or any other country. The world is so filled with important things to do, these busy days, that no man needs any help except his own brains and persistency to be somebody or get somewhere, wherever he may be. It is a time of almost unlimited possibilities for the willing and the efficient man or woman.

But it is not a weakling's job. Strong men are needed and strong women—men and women with courage to discard precedents, to strike out with confidence, with ability to do things better than they ever were done before. We need more men who do not fear to break new ground, to blaze new trails, to lead the people on to a larger and more satisfactory progress.

We are living in a time of push, power, prod! Five million women are engaged in gainful occupations in this one nation! And the number is increasing.

Let me assure this fine class of 1915 that the West needs its young men and its women as never before. Progressive employers in Kansas and all over this growing western country are looking for wideawake men, men who can do things right and do them quicker than any other man. New and better ideals in government by and for the people in fact present marvelous chances for honesty and honor and progress. In no age have energy, ambition, knowledge,

efficiency, been more in the public mind, or more greatly in demand.

And don't forget your morals when you start for yourself. This is not a platitude. The world's demand for clean living and good habits is proved in the refusal of employers, corporations, managers of athletic organizations even to consider the applications of men with double standards of morals. Leaving out the right or the wrong of it, employers know that the drinker, or the man who stays up late, or dissipates, cannot be depended upon. Therefore they make it their business to know what their employes are doing after supper as well as during the day.

In towns and cities more and more employes are realizing they must choose between the drink and the job. While they may exercise their personal liberty by indulging in intoxicants, the employer may also exercise his personal liberty by putting other men at work who live clean, decent lives, whose efficiency has not been diminished by liquor. Dissipation is a detriment, bad habits a heavy handicap everywhere. Persisted in, they mean certain failure.

Individuals, firms and corporations who until recently have been neutral and indifferent on the liquor question are now taking radical action to protect their employes from the baneful effects of the saloon and are giving their men to understand that if they persist in patronizing such places their positions will be given to others. There is no sentiment about this on the part of employers, they treat it as a cold matter of business.

All of which I tell you young men and women who are leaving port because you must know something of the sea you are to sail, and because such incontrovertible facts from a business man should have weight with those who might not so readily respect the message of a professional lecturer. We have come to put a fine value on reputation. Reputation of the right sort comes only from the right character—what you are in fact, not what you think you are, or what you try to make the world believe you are.

We can't fool the world even a part of the time any longer. And that means right here at home, as well as elsewhere. There is nothing emotional, nothing melodramatic, nothing of the boom sort about the onward march of temperance. It is just the cold, logical economic business argument that gives a man the alternative between his liquor and his position. The railroads began discharging drinking men for manifest reasons. The crusade has spread from vocation to vocation, until today it includes about every major means of making a livelihood.

A young man recently wrote me this characteristic letter. I call it characteristic because it is what so many young fellows seem to think:

"I will be thru school in a few weeks," he wrote. "I want to ask your advice. I wish you would tell me where a young man can go and have a chance to do something and be somebody. There doesn't seem to be a chance for a young man here in Kansas." Think of there being no chance for a young man in Kansas!

A boy or a young man must first make good—exceptionally good—at or near home, before he can, or before he will be fit to make good somewhere else. And if he makes good at home, he will have no need to go farther to seek his fortune unless he wishes to.

But the most pathetic picture of American life has been that of the untrained, helpless daughter, waiting around at home after her schooling was over, for some man to come along who was willing to support her. These helpless, ambitionless creatures are fast disappearing. The new girl will be much more of a prize than the old type of girl, and she will be much more sought after. The new girl will not have the same temptation to sell herself for a home, for some one to support her, because she will be able to provide for herself.

The coming girl is going to be trained, is going to fit herself for some useful vocation, either at home or else-

where, which will make her self-respecting, self-supporting, independent if need be.

Many, many boys who have in them the making of fine farmers and successful men come to the large city and take jobs from which they never can hope to rise.

The girls have even less of a chance. Often they must work for a mere pittance, away from friends and with much less opportunity of ever having a home of their own.

The cities are full of poor lawyers, poor doctors, poor insurance men, and poor office men—men who could have done far better at some other calling. Of the most favored, it is doubtful if more than one out of ten ever amasses a competency for old age or ever rises above the average level of existence if misfortune spares him that long.

It is these things which make me wish to plead with parents and others, with you good people of Crawford county to extend your work in every possible way among the young people of this community. You must strive to make country life so agreeable and interesting for them that the boys and girls will stay here until they reach the years of discretion, when there can be less doubt of a wise choice of life work. This, my friends, is to their interest, your interest and the nation's interest. And being a business man myself, one who has lived 30 years in a city of 50,000, I can say it without prejudice that one good farmer is worth more to Crawford county and the state of Kansas than ten average men engaged in commercial or industrial occupations in the large city, for he will be more really successful and live a happier and more wholesome life.

I believe the farm and country life hold a bright future for country-bred and country-trained boys and girls. In my opinion theirs is the brightest prospect facing any of the young people of the United States at this time. Farming is about the only calling not overcrowded. Our population already is growing faster than a million a year. The producer's services are to be appreciated and rewarded more and more. There are plenty of signs to indicate this

even now. The handicaps which have so long held the farming industry down are I believe soon to be removed as a means of salvation to the whole people; communication with the best and wholesomest cultural attractions of the cities and towns will become easier and easier of access to farm folks, and before many years the dwellers on western farms are going to be the most enviable people on earth. It is in the cities that the struggle for existence will grow keener and opportunities fewer. And so I urge my young friends to stay on the farm for the better time that is coming.

Furthermore, we must encourage the idea of better schools for the country boy and girl, including the organization of more consolidated district high schools, or rural township high schools. Farming demands educated men and women.

Our agricultural colleges, neither in the classroom, nor in their extension service, can meet this need fully. Every boy or girl desiring the equivalent of a good high school education in and for agriculture should have the opportunity of acquiring that training.

We must work for better rural and grade schools for the benefit of the vast number of children unable to obtain the advantages of higher education; for more attention to the fundamental and practical in education, adjusting the schools to the vital needs of the people to meet the actual problems of everyday life. We appropriate over a million dollars a year for our colleges, and it is money well spent, but we should not forget that 95 per cent of the children of this state will never see the inside of a college. We must have education that will make bread-winners instead of dreamers, education that fits not alone the few for the life they are to live, but an education that will fit the many, the great body of the common people, the bone and sinew of the state, for what they will undertake, and give them an equal show in the race of life.

MOBILIZING OUR BOY AND GIRL ARMY.

*From an Address at a Public Welfare Meeting, Salina,
January 16, 1916.*

Probably I needn't remind you that I am not an orator. Neither am I a politician. I am simply a business man. But the older I grow, the more I appreciate my responsibility to society and my obligation to my state and my community, and this is my excuse for coming before you.

We are hearing a great deal about compulsory military training. It is my opinion that our greatest and most important defense against every ill in America and in Kansas is the American home.

This is the age of conservation. But a conservation policy that does not conserve, nor promote, nor foster, nor protect the health, thrift and happiness of the American home—the source of all our strength and vigor as a nation—is an unspeakable sham. We need this kind of a defense far more than we shall ever need a larger army or a bigger navy. Militarism is in fact an enemy of the home as well as a grievous burden for any land to carry.

When we read of the millions of men in the trenches in Europe, it seems to us as if the world had taken up arms. Yet, under one flag, we have a larger, a more potent, a more powerful army in the United States in the 22 million children in American schools.

When the warring hosts of Europe shall have vanished or laid down their arms, this huge American army of young citizens of the United States will be waxing stronger and stronger.

What are we doing to mobilize them along the line of independent, self-supporting, high-quality citizenship?

Here is the most potent force of modern times, the Amer-

ica of the near future. Here is the truly great and important preparedness problem, beside which all other preparedness programs sink into insignificance.

It is for us to mold and train this vast army of boys and girls, to have them fit into a useful, purposeful, wholesome life, contributing strength to their communities, to the nation and to their own well-being; or to so ineffectively prepare them that they will find with difficulty, if at all, the place in rank and file best suited to their powers, and therefore the post of their greatest service to their country and the commonwealth. Our homes should be what they have always heretofore aspired to be, the recruiting stations of good citizenship, trained in family discipline, honor, thrift, patience, charity and good will. These are good Americanisms. They are the very cornerstones of all our character-building in the young, but they are not virtues that America has any patent right in.

This is the great responsibility that rests not alone upon parents and teachers, but upon each and every man and woman in the United States at this hour. We should strive to realize it, and realizing it, strive to meet it courageously, enthusiastically and effectively.

We might well begin by inculcating certain simple fundamental standards of living and amenities of life. We could, for instance, eliminate some of the world's worst evils and brighten many of the world's darkest places, if by means of training, precept, or example, we had these 22 million children daily saying "please" and "thank you."

Twenty-two million children trying to do a kind act daily.

Twenty-two million children resolving never to drink liquor, smoke cigars or acquire other bad habits.

Twenty-two million children studying their lessons and training to be better citizens than their parents.

Twenty-two million boys and girls speaking a good word for the American flag every day.

We have come up thru hardships and adversity and

are doing well in Kansas, but at the same time we are coming face to face with much the same world-old problems which have wrecked empires, vanquished nations, erased peoples.

I am not pessimistic about it, only deeply concerned and wishing every Kansan to realize to the utmost, the almost staggering responsibility that rests upon him, whether he thinks it does, or not. I know every man and every woman present has thought of some of these puzzling questions, frequently to consider them at public gatherings.

Our standards are so wholesome in Kansas. We have labored so wisely and so well. Kansas is still so young, strong, clean and virile, that it seems inevitable that the nation must look to us and not in vain, for a way out of many great difficulties.

We have done so well we must do far better. We must go on as we have begun, vigorously and persistently righting our errors, grappling with our difficulties, lining up, man to man and woman to woman, for the best in government, for the best in agriculture, for the best in education, in home life, in living; for fair play and a square deal for boys and girls, and for men and measures, in a high and loyal spirit of co-operation and good will.

As a people we are too generally intelligent, too generally forward-looking and enterprising, it seems to me, to fail in this great, big, fundamental purpose of life—home-making, nation-building.

No nation can be better, can rise higher, than its homes. The American home is the very foundation of the progress or failure of the American nation and we are discovering that there is something the matter with the American home of today.

I think the trouble is largely due to the changed conditions of life and living, especially in our towns and cities. It is a world-wide change, but greater on this side of the world and affecting us more than any other people. Then in the rush and struggle of existence I think the fathers

have been too willing to leave all the responsibilities of the home and the upbringing of the children to the mothers.

Here are some ugly facts: We are the criminal nation. During the last twenty-five years, murder has increased 200 per cent in this country. During the last twenty years tramp burglaries have increased 100 per cent. In 1910, for every million of our population 118 murders were committed. Italy had only 15, Canada only 13, Great Britain and Ireland only 9. Germany only 5—5 to our 118.

I am not alone in my opinion that this is largely a home problem, a home problem of the towns and cities.

Ninety-two per cent of the bad boys and the wayward girls come from the towns and cities. Only 8 per cent from the country. These were the highly significant figures that were given me upon the occasion of a recent visit to both the boys' and girls' reformatories in Kansas. Work and play is the rule in the country. It is mostly play in town. Few chores can be found for city children, so they become the prey of idleness and various distracting temptations. Wholesome and constant occupation is the safeguard of youth. This is the reason so much attention is now being given to playgrounds in cities, to athletics at schools and to baseball and outdoor games everywhere.

While I was visiting the State Penitentiary at Lansing, Warden Coddington, who has come in personal touch with some 3,000 prisoners during the last six years, told me that an examination of a thousand or more of these prisoners, all under 30 years old, has convinced him that we are recruiting our criminals from an army of city boys. Half of these boys are not our boys, they are "floaters," but the everlasting pity of it is that under different circumstances a great many of these boys would have become good citizens. I found that 68 per cent of the men in the Kansas penitentiary are under 30 years old, and it is the city life that sent them there.

We are paying out $3\frac{1}{2}$ million dollars every day in this country for punishing crime. More than 15 per cent of

the young men in the Kansas penitentiary and boys' reformatory at Hutchinson cannot read or write.

Some day we shall learn that it is just as important for us to see that the child of somebody else is given an education as it is that our own should be trained.

It is our duty to see that our future citizens are well born; that they are properly nourished, and are reared in that environment most likely to develop in them their full capacity and powers.

As one who has known and watched many boys, who has had hundreds of boys and young men work for him, and has seen what a miracle the right sort of encouragement works in boy nature, let me say a kindly word to these boys of Salina, who have honored me with their presence tonight. I talk to you, not as a preacher, or a reformer, or a faddist, but as a plain, everyday business man who has the greatest respect and admiration and real affection for boys. I want to see every boy in Salina become a man-sized man among men. And let me say it is no shame for a strong, manly boy to be gentle. It is in fact, the hallmark of his manhood. The American man or the American boy, is not living up to the unwritten code of the American gentleman whenever he fails to show the utmost courtesy and respect to girlhood and womanhood, to his parents, and to the aged; and kindness to the infirm and the unfortunate.

Unfortunately lack of respect for the aged, lack of respect for the advice and counsel of parents, is a deeply marked characteristic of the present generation, along with an absence of worthy ideals.

It should make us uneasy for the future of the state and nation, when the highest ideals of citizenship we can muster among them, range from the ambition to pose as the hero or heroine in a picture show to achieving distinction on the vaudeville stage, on the baseball diamond, or in the football field. Athletics are of course wholesome and beneficial—I am strong for all forms of clean sport—but as a

life work, a career, a way to serve your community or your country, and be somebody yourself, almost anything else is to be preferred.

Many a man of middle age says to his fellow men: If I had known as a young man half that my experience has taught me, I could have accomplished anything.

The everlasting pity is that the world has to learn so many of the simplest but most vitally important lessons of life over and over again; that a father, and especially a father in these high pressure times, can tell his son so little that the boy will listen to, or heed; that a mother, apparently, can so seldom impress on her daughter that a mother knows the world and the best way for her daughter to meet and conquer its trials and difficulties, so much better than self-satisfied and willful sixteen.

But, let me caution you that the young folk of today are not entirely to blame for their more than normal attitude of inconsequence toward life and life's duties and that inexorable future which comes to all and demands and collects in full for every mistake, and every misstep and every deviation from the straight line of perfection, truth and rectitude.

A TALK ABOUT BOYS.

From an Address at the Father and Son Banquet,

Y. M. C. A., Barnes.

I wish particularly to emphasize that one great need is more fatherhood in the American home. A father must not forget that the boy of today is the man of tomorrow, and that, as his boy's father, he has more to do with making him the sort of man he should be than anyone else. If we leave it to idle companions and the pool hall proprietor to instruct and entertain him, we can predict al-

most to a certainty what will become of any boy. It is here that the father's duty and the father's responsibility become one. No one else is so powerful a guardian, guide, philosopher and friend to his boy as his father is. A boy's pattern is his father. And let mothers and fathers train their boys that the same moral standard must be lived by them as is demanded of our girls.

If no other influences came in between a boy and his father, in a boy's life, a good father's example alone might be sufficient. But we know that this is not enough. The whole world realizes that a girl needs her mother, but few fathers realize that food, shelter, clothes and good schooling are not all the parental attention that a boy should get from his father. These are necessities. But the greatest good, the greatest help that can come to any boy, is the encouragement, the inspiration and the comradeship of a father who hasn't forgotten that he once was a boy.

Of only lesser degree is the friendly influence of any good man, boy-hearted enough to understand boys and be interested in them, and kind-hearted enough to wish to warm and brighten the life and prospects of some poor, neglected, or misdirected boy, by the sunshine of his friendship and beneficence; and when he has done that—by his fatherly counsel and advice.

Let me tell you the boy does not get all of the benefit. It reacts on the man. Nothing pays such dividends in happiness as this service. I urge every man and every woman of mature years to try this experiment: If you have no son or no daughter of your own, acquire a friendly interest in the welfare of the boys and girls that you meet. Try to help someone else's boy, who needs your help. Help him to be clean and manly. Try to prevent someone else's girl from drifting into evil or from being led into error.

Encouragee initiative. By no means throw the cold water of discouragement on the plans boys broach so hesitatingly or enthusiastically, even if you think you see fail-

ure ahead. The experience is good. They learn by it. Encourage them to try—to keep trying.

We have no more reason to expect a boy or a girl to be successful from the first in the execution of their plans, than to expect a baby to learn to walk at the first half-dozen attempts.

Encourage games, good shows, clean sports, dancing, wholesome athletic play, like baseball, basketball, tennis, croquet. These are all cultural. Games and contests are great developers of leadership, teamwork, self-control. They supply an outlet for the superabundant energy which nature demands shall be worked off and which if not spent wholesomely, will wreck or injure the machine. They teach boys and girls, too, how to get thru the world on good terms with their fellows—invaluable knowledge when they come to enter the world as young men and women.

Many parents of the present time, I think, are overlooking the steady, character-forming influence of religious training for the young, which comes from regular attendance at Sunday school and the affiliation of the parents with the church. This was as much a part of the old-fashioned rearing of young people as attendance at public school. It has kept many of the older generation straight in time of temptation and comforted them in time of trouble. I should like to see restored the old custom of five minutes of Bible reading, and the prayer with which we formerly opened each day of school. Also a return to the old dictum of our childhood, that modesty and neatness in dress is becoming and seemly and that extreme styles and extravagant dressing are not only vain but ridiculous and foolish.

NIGHT SCHOOLS AND PRACTICAL EDUCATION.

*From Address to Parent-Teachers' Association, Topeka,
September 8, 1915.*

We have learned that mere intelligence is not enough to save a man's soul, or to save his body. We have learned that efficiency is the measure of all human endeavor.

To know is something, but to do is more, and our educational system, if it is to produce the men and women whom America needs, must, I believe, rest upon the basic idea of producing citizens who are individually trained to do the world's work.

We are constantly boasting in America that there is room at the top. We have magnified our great men. Our generals, our multi-millionaires, our statesmen, our preachers, our play actors have received an adulation, and a meed of praise, which the mighty Caesars and Alexanders may well have envied. And at the same time in this great republic, in this democracy, in this country which we call "the Land of the Free," we have been too prone to give but little concern to the welfare of that great mass of humanity which is doing the world's work, bearing the brunt of the struggle toward better things, and which must, of necessity, occupy what is called the "lower rung" of the ladder.

The human factor in industry has been too much neglected, and at times, it seems to me, our public school system, as it is now organized, has been too much concerned in producing scholars rather than men and women. I am inclined to think we are giving too little heed to the actual needs of our people.

I would like to see an efficient, up-to-date, well organized public night school in Topeka.

The night school is a natural product of social and in-

dustrial progress and will aid greatly in making the school system a more potent factor in the betterment of the masses. Such a school, with well-organized and well-co-ordinated courses which are designed to aid actual workers and which are adapted to the needs of the working classes, to me seems almost an imperative necessity for the great army of young men and women who otherwise are unable to receive anything but the rudiments of an education.

There are hundreds of children in this city who have been born into almost hopeless environments. It is our business and our duty, my friends, to see to it that they have a chance to live for those things which make life worth while. The records show that about one-third of the boys and girls of Topeka do not even have the advantage of all the grades; indeed many of them become a part of the working world after completing the sixth and seventh grades. I am told that about one-fourth the children in this city did not attend school after their fifteenth birthday. Over 60 per cent of our future citizens are going forth into their lifework without the equipment of at least an elementary schooling—without preparation and without adequate opportunity to acquire the benefits of education after they have entered the treadmill of daily life. It is from this class the army of life's misfits is recruited. I hold that it is the right of every boy and girl in this community to have guaranteed to them by this city some form of education and training which will contribute to self-support.

There are in the city of Topeka today about 12,000 school children of school age and yet only 8,333—a little more than two-thirds—are actually in school. In our city, as in all others, there are economic conditions that prevent boys and girls from finishing the high school or even the grades. Not old enough to be accepted into any industrial positions of importance, being prohibited by law and their own incapacity, they are thrown upon the mereies of a world not mereiful but merciless, driven hither and thither

without a safeguard or an anchorage; and many of them naturally drift into paths which lead them into the army of criminals. I know you teachers will agree with me that it is the imperative duty of this community to provide for all these boys and girls during the most critical period of their lives.

I believe the desire for knowledge is just as strong in the coalheaver's family as in the banker's home, and it should have the same opportunity to be gratified and encouraged. I am inclined to think great numbers of our young men and women realize that they need the assistance of education in their daily work, and they are ambitious and industrious, but the public school is not within their reach. It is in session at precisely the time of day when many of them must be earning their daily bread.

In this city, too, there are hundreds of grownup men and women, not old in years, yet probably aged by hardships, who need not charity, but the encouragement and the guidance to self-help which comes from a well-conducted public night school. The people who seek the benefits of such a school come with a purpose, and what is done for them would be quite sure to reach returns somewhere near the 100 per cent mark.

Altho nearly 20 per cent of the wage-earners of Topeka are foreign-born and foreign-trained, we still neglect to provide adequately for their future. Quite a number of these people are unable to speak the English language. When a foreign citizen goes to the night school he learns not only the English language, but he also acquires a love for his newly-adopted country; you help him get on his feet in a new land; you help him become an intelligent member of our community, to have respect for our institutions and to cultivate a regard for law and order. The night school solves the immigrant question quicker than anything else, because the foreigner soon comes to recognize the teacher and the community as his friend and benefac-

tor. I think, therefore, we should encourage the public night school.

I do not appear before you as a "knocker" on the public schools of Topeka; indeed, I think Topeka has special reason to be proud of her school system and the teaching staff. Our schools are admirably conducted and are, I believe, the equal of any public schools in the world. But may I venture the opinion that when more than 3,000 Topeka children remain out of the schools, as is the case at this very moment, and when many of those who do enter, remain only to the end of the elementary course, there may be something wrong with our system of education. The fact that a large percentage of the pupils in the public schools leave even before finishing the grammar courses, and that less than 25 per cent ever enter high school, might suggest that our elementary and high schools do not emphasize as they should the courses that would be of the greatest benefit to those pupils in their lifework. Too much emphasis, possibly, has been placed upon the value of purely intellectual training, rather than an effort to generate an atmosphere of wholesome respect for labor. If we are to have education that fits for life, we must have education that fits not the few for the life they are to live, but the many.

I believe that the greatest weakness in our public school system is lack of thoro training, especially in the fundamentals. Over 500 young men and women apply at my newspaper office every year for employment. Many of them are high school graduates. I am sorry to say that we are compelled to turn away more than half of this number because they are unable to write a legible hand or to spell many of the simplest words that appear in ordinary business correspondence. I fear, too, that the present system of over-educating may possibly bring some boys and girls out of the high schools who think they know so much that they don't want to work any longer with their hands. Unless the boys can get an easy job in an office they simply

won't work, and the girls refuse to do housework. This is bad for the country because there is a shortage of intelligent, industrious workers. I think, therefore, we should devote more time to the common branches and the things in life that are of importance to people who work with their hands. Teach them thoroly so that the poor as well as the rich may be equipped to cope with the social problems that now confront modern society. Then if there are young people who want to go on with French and German and those things which go with higher education, there should be ample opportunity for that class also.

I am inclined to think it might be well to give time to some of the scientific branches, so that when a boy or girl has gone thru the eight grades, both may possess a complete, practical education. When it is considered that for more than three-fourths of the Topeka boys and girls these grades will be all the education which they will get, my contention assumes the proportions of an absolute right.

In making an appeal for more attention to the common branches, I do not of course mean abandonment of high ideals of scholarship nor any diminution of regard for the higher education. I am willing to have all the culture and extra knowledge in the colleges, but the graded schools should be held closely to the groundwork of education. I only desire to emphasize the necessity of teaching the child more of the things that will mean bread and butter to him—the necessity of a larger amount of practical education to a larger number of people.

Certainly our schools, with few exceptions, no longer teach a pupil thoroly how to write, nor to spell, nor to read. I would waste no time on the dead languages, but literature and language would be taught in such a manner that a love of the best literature and a desire to use refined language would be the aim of each pupil. Geography and history should be taught incidentally. Hygiene is entitled to a place in the course of study, and I would emphasize cleanliness in all its relations to the human body; as well

as ventilation, proper heating and lighting of rooms, especially the school room and sleeping room. The vocational subjects, such as manual training and domestic science, should be given, it seems to me, great prominence. I would endeavor to develop every natural power to the highest degree and to teach every pupil, young and old, to think sanely. After eight years' schooling every parent has a right to expect that the state has given the child an education which will enable him to make his way in the world. When it fails to do this, as I think it does now, it is time to remedy things.

In the elementary schools a few subjects are fundamental and these studies, if reasonably well mastered, form an infinitely better background for a child's future progress than any amount of half-learned miscellaneous stuff picked up at random from the various departments of science, art, civics, history or literature.

I ask for a practical up-to-date, present-day school—a school that would be of direct practical service and that would widen the opportunities of every boy and girl in our city, and I am happy to say that in the Topeka schools most gratifying progress has been made in that direction.

THE PROBLEMS OF HUMANITY.

From an Address Delivered at Convention of Woodmen of the World, Pittsburg, Kan., April 10, 1917.

We live in a wonderful age. A few months ago I sat in Boston at dinner with the governors of 38 states. At each place at the table was an individual telephone. I raised the telephone at my place and talked clear across this great continent from Boston to San Francisco with Hiram Johnson, governor of California, and I heard his voice as distinctly as tho he were in the next room.

Not long ago, I received at the state house in Topeka a

message from a friend who was a thousand miles out in the Pacific Ocean. He happened to remember it was my birthday and fifteen minutes later his message was delivered to me by wireless telegraph.

One evening last summer, seated on the veranda of my home, I heard a peculiar humming sound. Looking up I saw swooping down toward me a young friend of mine, Phil Billard, a Topeka boy I have known virtually all his life. He was in an airplane, largely of his own constructing, and he swooped down so close to the earth that I could plainly hear his voice in friendly greeting.

It is a wonderful age in which you live. Who could have dreamed a few years ago of talking clear across this continent or of receiving a wireless message flashed 3,000, 5,000, 9,000 or 10,000 miles thru space in an instant? Who would have thought that a Kansas boy (and several Kansas boys have done it) could build his own airplane and navigate the air as gracefully and as swiftly as the eagle? All these and many more marvelous things have come to pass within a few short years.

And who can tell what marvel the next quarter of a century will produce?

The world is not going to stand still. The great scientists know that the vast ocean of truth is still unexplored. The great inventors tell us that we have only made a beginning in subjecting to man's service the world-leaping forces of electricity and radio-activity which are still so great a mystery to us that nobody knows what they really are.

We may expect much from science and invention in the next half century, but I believe, my friends, that the greatest progress we shall make will not be in material things, will not be in science or invention, but will be a great advance along economic, social and humanitarian lines. It is a wonderful thing that anyone may talk across the continent to another being, but it is a far greater thing to realize and to recognize that this being and every human being between him and you, is a brother, with a brother's

claim on you. It is a miraculous thing to be able to step into a flying machine and rise above the surface of the earth on so impalpable a thing as air, but it is a greater thing to be able to do your part in lifting human society to a higher plane of living, to better economic conditions, to nobler ideas and higher principles.

We have made great progress in material things, but I am happier in the belief that the minds of men, the minds of the Kansas people and of the American people have not been entirely engrossed with goods and chattels. We have not altogether ignored the greatest, the most vital problems of civilization, the welfare and the destiny of the human race. We have made a beginning toward solving some of the questions which have perplexed society thru all the ages, but I am strong in the faith that the next decade, or the next quarter of a century at farthest, will see the actual solution of some of the knottiest of these questions of humanity. Nothing in this age or in any age is of greater importance, nothing more worth while can engage your thought and mine and your effort and mine, and I beg of you for your own spiritual growth and satisfaction not to withhold anything you can personally contribute to the betterment of human life and the true progress of the people.

IMPORTANCE OF JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT.

From an Address to the Kindergarten Teachers Association, First M. E. Church, Topeka, Nov. 12, 1915.

The Juvenile Flower club which we established six years ago in Topeka, has grown steadily. In that time we have given away over 75,000 packages of flower seeds. Last April more than 3,000 boys and girls called at The Daily Capital office and were enrolled as members of our club.

To be happy and contented, a healthy, vigorous boy must have some sort of purpose or interest in life, the same as a man. He must work to an end. He must accomplish something for himself. He must boss something. Every possible encouragement should be given by parents and teachers to boys and girls to earn something during vacations.

Which summer school will be most likely to lead a boy in the paths in which he should walk—for his good and ours—the school of idleness on the streets, among the dirt and filth of the alleys, or inspiring, helpful, elevating work in a flower or vegetable garden at home? I believe you will join with me in the hope that every back yard and every vacant lot in this community will next year be transformed into a garden where boys and girls may raise vegetables, berries, fruits and flowers for pleasure and profit. It will mean not only cheaper living expenses, but also great benefits in the way of education and training. More than 5,000 school children in Topeka remain at home during the summer vacation without any useful, healthful, productive occupation requiring any large part of their time, while there is much valuable land in back yards and vacant lots that is serving no useful purpose. The object should be to bring idle land and children together, and you and I should help bring this about. It is difficult to estimate the far-reaching results of this plan when it shall be put in full operation thruout this city. For the children it will mean health, strength, joy in work, habits of industry, and understanding of the value of money as measured in terms of labor, and such knowledge of the phenomena and forces of nature as must be had for an understanding of any of their school lessons. They will also learn something, at least, of the fundamental principle of morality; that each individual must make his or her own living; must, by some kind of labor of head, hand or heart, contribute to the commonwealth as much as he takes from it; must pay for what he gets in some kind of coin.

And along with nature study and the cultivation of a love for the beautiful, I should like to see more attention given to humane education, more instruction given to children that animals have rights which they should respect, that cruelty is contemptible and degrading, that kindness is the greatest promoter of happiness, and that justice, mercy and compassion are the noblest of virtues.

The whole problem and the right method is to keep the boys and girls busy in a balanced program of school, play, home duties and interesting occupation. The wrong method, sure to result disastrously, is to let them run wild, cut loose from every anchorage, study or not as they feel like it, roam when and where they choose, loaf when they feel disinclined to apply themselves, rule the household instead of conforming to its regulations, being always late at meals, going out at night whenever they choose and returning at any hour, etc., etc. These are the general symptoms of an unregulated young person who needs some wholesome interests and home oversight to set him right.

FRIVOLITY A MODERN FAULT.

From an Address to the Parent-Teachers Association, at the High School, Leavenworth, Kan., May 23, 1916.

I am thankful to say that the young women of Kansas dress with good taste and good sense. There are a few exceptions, possibly. That we do sometimes see them now, is not so much a reflection on empty-headed innocence as it is a proof there are foolish mothers and foolish fathers. Every overly self-conscious school girl simpering in a dress no school girl should wear, is the sign of a home where the simple, wholesome life of American tradition has been supplanted by the popular craze for display and frippery. We are all more or less the victims of a wave of bad taste,

a lowering of standards of conduct, a universal rag-time of the tiddle-de-winks of life. We need to get back to that wholesome simplicity from which we started. I do not mean that we should live meagerly or parsimoniously, but that we should go back to the solid, substantial things of life, to standards of living which benefit the individual instead of injuring him, which tend toward human progress, toward uplifting humanity, and not toward a lowering of the stamina of the people.

At no time since books have been common in the world, have boys and girls known so little about the great books, the great deeds, the great personages of history, religion, poetry, art, science, discovery and statesmanship. The present day high school graduate's ignorance of such knowledge is pitiful and appalling and the reason of it is the many distractions, the constant search for further excitements and diversions which leaves no time for such comparatively slow and stupid things as reading and books. We are ere long to learn that we must go back to wholesome diversions and simpler living, to have a time for play, a time for work and for those other things which round out and develop well-balanced men and women.

Speed mania, dissipation, too many distractions, overstimulation of the emotions, are giving the boys and girls of today fatally wrong ideas of life. It is almost a national peril. It threatens a generation of marital unhappiness and misery. The world never has seen a more difficult age in which to properly rear a boy or girl.

It is little less than criminal to bring up a boy or girl in idleness and without teaching them the good old-fashioned virtue, thrift. Too many boys and girls are being brought up to receive continually and give practically nothing in return. This makes them selfish and trifling. Inculcating the doctrine of thrift would have a wonderful bearing upon lessening criminal costs, suicides, divorces, dissipation and calls for charity.

Neither Leavenworth nor any other city may claim to

be rich or great or a good place for homes as long as there is one child within its borders that is not properly fed, clothed, sheltered, trained and schooled.

In the homes and the schools of Kansas, Kansas is always in the making. They are the sources of our growth and progress in any and every direction. Their standard will be our standard. As they are we shall be. We can rise no higher than they rise.

I wish every boy and girl in Kansas, no matter how humble his home, to have a fair chance at the door of opportunity. If we are going to do that, we must have education that fits not alone the few for the life they are to live, but an education and training that will fit the many, the great body of the common people, the bone and sinew of the state, for what they will undertake, an education that will make bread-winners rather than dreamers of the children of Kansas, and give them an equal show in the race of life.

To do this we must give them training that will be useful in the earning of a livelihood, and teach them the satisfaction that comes from doing an honest day's work intelligently and well.

Every city and employment center is cluttered with half-educated, undisciplined, indifferent applicants for work— young people which it seems our free public school system should have developed into some semblance of intelligence and usefulness. The hearts and minds of these young people are seldom on their work. They seem never to learn what their duties are or to learn to do them without being told to do them. They have no conception of how much they lack, and they have a self-esteem out of all proportion to their scanty attainments. And for this the schools are only partly to blame.

In the main—and this brings us right back to the beginning of the argument—these young people have been too much indulged, or too much neglected, at home. We need more of the simple, old-fashioned home life, with its cer-

tain tasks and responsibilities assigned to every member of the family, and stated times for doing these tasks; also for study and for play. And don't forget wholesome play, for we are learning that it has an important and a far-reaching influence in a child's education and his success in life.

LACK OF THORONESS IN MODERN TRAINING.

*From an Address at the M. E. Church, Arkansas City,
Kan., January 23, 1916.*

I find that more than 85 per cent—that more than three out of every four of our future citizens of Kansas—are going into their life work without preparation. I am sorry to say that six out of ten children in my city do not attend school after their fifteenth birthday.

Economic conditions are making the struggle for existence harder and harder, while it seems to me our preparation is less and less thoro. For years I have been an employer of young men and young women in Topeka. A greater part of the time we have more than 500 on the payroll.

In the course of a year as many as one thousand young men and young women apply for work. Investigating what these applicants have to offer is our saddest experience. The first touchstone question, "What can you do?" nearly always leaves them without an answer. They never have done anything. They never have been fitted for anything. They never have really mastered the simplest things.

To meet, in the course of a year, hundreds of such young people as I have had to, is pitiful, is disheartening, is almost heartbreaking. You feel so sorry for them. You wonder what is to become of them. You wish you could

do something for them, that you had the time, the power and the means to turn your business into a school of application and training that these misfits in the scheme of life might be given a chance to acquire some self-supporting employment.

In fact every large business is to some extent a training school, of necessity, but there is a limit beyond which it is possible for any business to go in developing efficient workers from the rawest of material; and so many, so very many of these applicants for work are absolutely so untutored, so untrained, so unequipped to do the simplest things.

What becomes of these neglected young people?

Doubtless experience, the dearest teacher of all, and the most pitiless, does teach some of them something, whereby at least they become the proverbial square pegs that fit in round holes. For the rest statistics are beginning to return an illuminating answer.

The latest statistics show there are 250,000 persons in the United States making a living from crime. Another 100,000 are in the jails and penitentiaries. Another 50,000 constitute the class known as hoboos. And it is the American boy and not the foreign born boy who gives us this crime problem.

Another answer to the question what becomes of the untrained, is returned by the president of a school of business efficiency and salesmanship. He says 95 per cent of all the men of America are incompetent thru lack of proper training to make a success in any trade, business or profession.

We may think his figures a little high and possibly they are high, but in the average community, in proportion to the whole number, how many men are there who may be called really successful?

Again we are told that 90 per cent of the men in this

country at the age of 65 are dependent either wholly or in part upon their relatives, their friends, or on charity, for support.

Of course this huge per cent of failures in later life, if the figures are accurate, probably has numerous contributing causes; but the chief one, possibly, was lack of parental training in the virtues of thrift and providence; also, possibly, many had to begin with a handicap of little or no earning power, and were long in overcoming it, missing many opportunities for betterment and promotion on the way.

One other thing that statistics seem to show has special bearing on the subject we are considering. A study of prison populations shows that there are very few men with trades in the penal institutions of this country. For example, where there were 160 persons confined in the Kansas prison, there was not a single carpenter, bricklayer, plasterer, tailor, printer, painter or a member of the other skilled crafts, to be found. Seventy-two per cent of the prisoners at Lansing have no trade or regular calling.

The moral is: Have your boy learn a trade.

I hold that it is the right of every boy and every girl in every community in Kansas, to have guaranteed to them by the district, the county, the city and the state some form of education and training which shall make them self-supporting workers and useful members of society.

After eight years' schooling every parent has a right to expect that the state has given his child an education which will enable him to make his way in the world. When it fails to do this, as sometimes I think it does now, it is time to remedy such a serious deficiency. What I ask is that our boys and girls, when they leave school, shall have attained knowledge and training which will make them better citizens of Kansas, which shall better equip them to enter upon the duties of life and give them a high and true ideal of what constitutes good citizenship.

COUNTRY'S ADVANTAGES OVER THE CITY.

*From an Address at the Marysville, Kan., High School,
May 19, 1915.*

I want to say to every ambitious young man and woman in this community, in every Kansas community—don't go away from Kansas to the large cities. Our state needs especially every boy and girl, and needs them where they are—not in the big cities.

Never in the history of the world has the large town or the great city had so little to offer the boy or girl from the country as today. Fortunately, we have few large cities in Kansas to lead these boys and girls into the many blind alleys of futureless work which abound in these congested centers where the struggle for existence is keener than ever before and the rewards correspondingly small, where the temptations are many and especially strong for those who have seldom been subjected to the allurements and the distractions continually spread before city-bred boys and girls to their harm.

I hope none of the boys and girls I see here and there in this gathering will think I am their old friend Gloomy Gus, or that I am conspiring with those who love them most dearly to put up a job on them, whereby they will have to hang up their hats and coats in the future, study more and work harder. It is for you and your best interests that I am talking here at all. I once was a boy myself and I never have gotten over liking boys and liking to be with boys. I know the girls pretty well, too, for no man ever grew up with finer sisters.

Now let me tell you by way of a little encouragement,

what I think about you boys and girls. I haven't seen better nor finer boys and girls anywhere in my travels than I see here.

It has long been my opinion that Kansas has the best boys and girls in America, anyway. I think it always will have, and I am going to see, so far as I am personally able to bring it about, that you boys and girls have every chance to become happy and successful men and women in the best state, in the best country in the world, in which a boy or girl can be born and grow up.

I want every one of you boys and girls to know that you have a very real and true friend in Topeka. If ever I can help you, if ever I can do anything to make you happier, I want you to come to me as freely as you would go to any good uncle you are fond of, and who is fond of you. Whether I am a state official or a private citizen, you will find the door open and somebody inside who will be truly glad to see you. I shall be that somebody as I expect to be at work in Topeka for the next fifty years, and your friend and well-wisher always.

IMPORTANCE OF PARENTAL INFLUENCE.

From an Address at Father and Son Banquet, United Presbyterian Church, Topeka, April 26, 1916.

The most interesting part of my work as governor is at the state institutions. I have spent much time among the unfortunate boys at the State Reformatory school at Hutchinson and the little fellows at the Boys' Industrial Reform School in North Topeka, and have talked with most of them personally. I say to you frankly that practically all of the 340 young men in the Hutchinson Reformatory are there because they failed to receive the friendly interest, the companionship and sympathy and confidence of their

fathers. They became street-corner loungers, pool-room loafers, and crap-shooters. Then they got to drinking and gambling, and then it was only a short step to jail or state prison. But the blame is not all with the parents. A fine looking 18-year-old boy at Hutchinson said to me the other day: "I made the mistake of my life when I forgot that my father is the best friend I ever had. My father begged me to cut loose from the fast crowd and go to work, but I thought I knew more than he did. I have had my lesson. I have paid dearly for my fun."

Another fine looking boy said to me: "I got to drinking. That's why I am here. I wish you would tell every boy in Kansas that nine out of ten boys behind the bars can trace their troubles back to idleness and booze. Tell them to let it alone."

Another young man now behind the prison walls at Lansing said to me: "I never had a mother and all I learned from my father was to avoid him. No one ever helped me. No one was enough interested in me to tell me what it all meant. I got in with a bad gang. We went from bad to worse. In a drunken fight I shot a man and now I am here for life. I am the goat. I tell you I have not had a fair chance." And I agree with this young man, that the community in which he lived is to blame. The citizens were sending money to the heathen in India and China but they were neglecting their own boys.

A gray-haired old man, a stranger to me, with a sigh on his lips and a sob in his heart, called at my office in the state house one afternoon last February and with tears in his eyes, said: "I wish you would help me find my son. I need him. I am left without a friend in the world. Six years ago I quarreled with the boy. I cursed him and that night he disappeared. There has not been a day since then that I have not wished to have him back. I need him for I am here destitute, broken in health, and without a friend in the world."

No son goes far wrong who is a comrade and bosom

friend of his father, and no father dare look such a son in the eye and be a rascal. One helps and holds the other at the time each needs the help of the other. There is nothing finer than to see father and son at the ball game, each rooting lustily for the home team. The father may be a busy man, but making money becomes too big a price to pay for starving a son of his father's affections, or a father of the richest treasure that can be his—the delight and companionship of his own son.

No boy or girl can be driven; but they can be led, and if parents would live again their own boyhood and girlhood days in comradeship with their sons and daughters, much sorrow and distress would be avoided.

KANSAS NEEDS HER YOUNG PEOPLE.

*From an Address to the Students of the Norton Schools,
June 18, 1918.*

I wish you boys and girls to know that what I am to say to you tonight comes from the heart. But it is not going to be a lecture nor a sermon, simply a little plain talk from a business man who is deeply interested in the boys and girls of Kansas, as much so as the fathers and mothers and the uncles and the aunts who are here tonight. And that, I think, is putting it strongly.

As one who has known and watched many boys and girls, who has had hundreds of young people work for him, who has seen what a miracle the right sort of appreciation works in young folk, I wish to say a cordial and a kindly word of encouragement to you boys and girls of Norton who have honored me with your presence this evening. I am going to talk to you, not as a preacher, nor as a reformer, nor as a faddist, but as a plain everyday business man who has the greatest respect and admiration and the

warmest affection for Kansas young folk. I have faith in them and in you, for I know your hearts are right and where the heart is right the head can seldom go wrong.

I want you young men and young women to believe there are great opportunities right here in Kansas—not in California nor in New York—I say there were never greater opportunities in any country or in any state—the opportunities for business—for everything that is worth living for on earth. It is not necessary to go to a far-off city to be a success.

Kansas needs you. Kansas will appreciate you. And I believe, taking every condition into consideration, life in Kansas has most to offer you. Don't go away from Kansas. With all its fine resources, all its almost limitless possibilities, it needs every trained man and woman it has produced. It would be a poor testimony of gratitude to desert the state that made you. No country in the world, no other state, holds better chances for the man willing to do his part in life, not alone for material success—for that would be a poor conception of life's duties—but also for the ennobling opportunities to be found in everyday life. To be great at all, you must begin where you are. He who would be great anywhere must begin by being great in his own town.

Vice, graft, disease, plunder are rampant in our big cities. Mantraps and pitfalls abound in them. Side by side are the slum and the palace, the saloon and the brothel, the sweat shop and the tenement, the jail and the reformatory, great wealth and extreme poverty, the master and the slave—noise, dirt, foulness, decay, glitter and sham. Against this Kansas offers independence, opportunity commensurate with industry, a competence and more, the respect and friendship of neighbors, a part and a place in the life of the community, health and happiness.

I believe in the wisdom of every-day common sense. The really great man is a plain, straight-forward, every-day common-sense man. And it is possible for every man to

be a great man in this country. We ought to teach that however humble a man's station may be, if he does his full duty in that place in which he is put, he is just as much entitled to our respect and honor as the head of the nation.

Success consists in learning to do and in doing the common things in life uncommonly well. You may be only a mule driver of the coal wagon, but if you do the work a little better than the next man, you are on the royal road to success. I should much rather be the best bootblack or the best janitor in the town than the lawyer or doctor or printer known to his neighbors as a hopeless failure.

I know fifty or a hundred worthless dudes and cheap sports in my town—and you probably have a few in your town—who spend their time lounging about the pool rooms, the street corners and other loafing places. They haven't earned a dollar in six months, but are complaining every day that there is no chance in the town for a young man.

No young man need be discouraged because he has no money to start with. It is my observation that the boy of poor or humble parents stands a better chance of making good than the son of wealth and luxury. Loose ideas about life, little or no training, money and automobiles—so common with the average son of indulgent and wealthy parents, has caused the downfall of many of these young men and the lack of incentive or of ambition in others.

And, young women, there are opportunities for you, too. Over $\frac{3}{4}$ million women are now engaged in professional pursuits. I know a Kansas woman who is earning more than \$5,000 a year in the banking business; another Kansas woman earned almost as much in lawyers' fees and more than one hundred women in this state receive good incomes for their services as physicians.

John J. Ingalls said opportunity knocked but once. I think he was mistaken. If he had said "once a day" he would have been nearer the mark. It is the small opportunities seized and realized that have made the big men.

Make your opportunity. The materials lie all around you—on every hand.

The world reserves its highest prizes for the man who is not afraid to work, who is willing to learn from everything and everybody around him; who, no matter what difficulties rise in his way or what obstacles confront him, never gives up, but persists until he has won the prize, and he doesn't quit then.

Ten years ago a young man from Greenleaf, Kan., walked into my office and applied for work. "I'm not too proud to tackle anything that will give me a start," he announced. He was not puffing at a cigarette. He was not wearing flashy clothing. He looked clean. I started him at \$10 a week. He had good stuff in him. He had persistency and pluck and was always on the job. Today, I am paying him \$6,000 a year and I would employ half a dozen more like him at the same price if I knew where to find them.

I give it to you as a business man's experience and observation that the use of liquor is the rock upon which more young men are hopelessly wrecked than any other. The young man who drinks voluntarily handicaps himself in the race of life. The employers of 85 per cent of the employed in the United States refuse to keep a man on their payrolls who drinks intoxicating liquor.

Booze is the greatest curse in this country today. The warden of the Kansas penitentiary told me the other day that of the 840 men in the Kansas prison, 765 admit they are there because booze got the best of them. Big league ball players nearly all are teetotalers for they know that whisky paralyzes purpose, deadens courage and makes them miff the real opportunity. Select 100 of the best young men in Norton; divide them into groups of fifty; let one group use intoxicating liquor and the other drink water. Those who drink water will win the honors in school, take

the prizes on the athletic fields, and prove their superiority in every line of endeavor.

Another thing: No argument can possibly be made for the cigarette habit. A six weeks' scholarship test in the Ponca City high school between 21 boys who smoked and 42 non-smokers, showed the non-smokers averaged 6 per cent higher in their grades than the smokers. This is pretty strong confirmation that smoking injures a growing boy's mental development and may stunt him mentally for life. Don't get the habit, boys.

TEACH THRIFT TO THE YOUNG PEOPLE.

From an Address to the Night School at the High School Auditorium, Kansas City, Kan., February 3, 1916.

I went to work when I was 13 years old. Fortunately I had a father and mother who taught me habits of industry and obedience and thrift. My father never gave me a dollar of spending money in my life but he provided me with ample opportunity to earn all I needed. This practical home training has proved to be a rich legacy to me and for many years I have been zealously preaching to my young friends the gospel of work, of self-reliance, of sobriety and economy. I believe in helping our boys and girls to help themselves.

I saw two line-ups in Kansas City one day last winter that told more than words. One was the bread line-up of the hungry, the homeless, the dejected. Booze brought that line there. Two blocks away I saw another line-up in the lobby of a big bank. There were wage-earners of all classes waiting to put away their savings. Industry and thrift brought them there.

It cannot be said, however, that we are a frugal people. We spend our money extravagantly and heedlessly. We

squander every year 70 millions on tobacco and 13 millions on chewing gum. The movies get 1 million every day from the public; 800 millions go every year for jewelry and plate, 500 millions for automobiles, more than 2 billions for intoxicating liquors. In Switzerland five hundred out of a thousand persons have money in the bank; in America only ninety-nine out of a thousand and a majority of these are foreigners. Statistics show that ninety-seven per cent of the people of our country are wholly or partly dependent on friends, relatives or charity at the age of 65 years—all on account of extravagance, wastefulness, educational deficiency or economic inefficiency.

Thrift is careful spending as well as wise saving. We never have known a more reckless and extravagant period in American life than this period. Children who formerly were taught to save, now often outdo their indulgent parents who frequently are compelled to deprive themselves that their sons and daughters shall have every wish gratified. No boy or girl can have a worse start in life. There is no more important training for a child than teaching it to save and invest its savings, until such a habit is acquired. Thrift means better, higher, saner living; better homes, happier and better-conditioned people. It develops character, self-control, self-denial.

Extreme fashions and extravagant dressing create shallow, false standards of life in young people, and cast prejudices and distinctions. Nothing but flash, frivolity and wickedness can ever come of this indulgence. There never has been a more attractive setting for modest girlhood and sweet-faced womanhood, than neatness and modesty in dress. It inspires higher admiration and truer respect for women in men. It develops higher character and purer and nobler womanliness in women.

It is to the credit of Kansas women generally that, strongly influenced by fashion as they are, they deride these ridiculous exhibitions of extravagance, bad taste and semi-indecency. Our fashions are designed to fit the whims

and the purses of the very small, restless, idle, unhappy class of over-wealthy women, the drones of the race, who perpetually are seeking for they know not what, in new sensations and wasteful extravagances. Why should sensible, lovable and truly beautiful and worthy womanhood ape such inanities?

Before I close, let me say that a college education is valuable to young men and young women, no matter what their lifework may be, and when they have completed their high school course I urge them to make every possible effort to secure the benefit of college training. I am not myself a college man, but I always have felt the need of the training that comes from a few years spent at one of the higher institutions of learning. Colleges are becoming more practical every day. They benefit not only those who engage in professional pursuits, but they help in agriculture and in all the industries by producing workmen who are more efficient. Statistics gathered by President Waters of the Kansas Agricultural College show that the labor income of farmers who are college graduates is 191 per cent ahead of the labor income of farmers with only common school educations. You may be interested to know that of the 27,000 students in Kansas colleges at this time more than one-half of the boys and one-third of the girls are paying their way. This is ample proof that Kansas boys and girls have good stuff in them. There is no valid excuse for failing to obtain a college education on the part of the boy or girl who really wants one. If you have health and strength and no one dependent upon you, you can work your way thru any Kansas college.

FARMING AND FARMERS' PROBLEMS

As one of the leading agricultural publishers of the country, Mr. Capper has frequently been called on for addresses before farmers' organizations, such as agricultural societies, granges, farmers' unions, etc. The problems of the farmer have ever been close to him and he has given utterance to many helpful suggestions. Portions of addresses to farmers and in behalf of farmers and their problems may be found in the following pages.

KANSAS AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS.

From an Address to the Effingham Farmers, Oct. 8, 1915.

A new and appropriate name has been found for the American farmer. He is now being called the "Paymaster of Industry." And that is exactly what he is. Farming is the great American industry. Manufacturing comes next and is a mighty poor second in spite of all the attention and all the favors it gets.

The American farmer has more capital invested than any other man in any other industry.

He is producing more steadily than any other man in any other industry and he is giving greater returns for every hour's work done than any other man in any other industry.

This is not hot air. These are cold facts.

The American farmer is contributing every year about 12 billions of dollars annually to the welfare of the Amer-

ican people. The railroads get about $1\frac{1}{4}$ billion, the manufacturers $4\frac{1}{2}$ billions, the bankers 200 millions, the merchants $3\frac{1}{2}$ billions, the miners more than a half billion, and a miscellaneous payroll takes the rest.

When he has met these obligations, the man on the farm has left for himself and his family about what would constitute day wages. Mainly, this is because his is the only industry unorganized, and because he must pay more interest for money with which to finance his business than any other person on earth.

A little more money for his year's work than if he had hired himself out as a farm hand, is what the Agricultural Department finds the average farmer gets.

Tho his investment is about as great as that of the average business man, the average farmer is rewarded with little or nothing for the risk that he takes or the responsibility he assumes.

Among the causes of turmoil from which the farmer is suffering may be mentioned too many middlemen, lack of a well organized system of co-operative marketing and distribution, the lame-duck commission man, and the great need of farm credit for the tenant farmer as well as the land owner.

The consumer cannot expect any decided recession of prices as long as the war lasts. On the farm and in the factory we are soon likely to be the busiest people in the world. Since war was declared 175 million bushels of wheat have been shipped to Europe—much more than a million bushels a day. For one, two or three years, more than 374 million people, representing the population of the countries at war, must look to us for nearly all the necessities of life, not simply during the war, but during several years of reconstruction after peace is declared; before the ruin of European agriculture can be restored and its farm population again recruited; before its mills and factories can again be set going. The resources of the

United States as a producing nation are to be tested as they never have been tested before.

We must get busy on the farm, busy in the factory, busier than we ever have been.

In my opinion American farmers should begin preparing for this contingency now. They should prepare for it by organizing their industry co-operatively from the ground up and begin by organizing the home community first.

I needn't tell you that farmers will begin to succeed when they begin to co-operate; that great help will come from a good co-operative system of rural credit. Sooner or later we are going to get one; a system which will provide something better than a verbal promise that a loan may be renewed if circumstances make a renewal necessary.

The farmers of the United States are borrowing more than 2 billion dollars a year on their land alone and are buying credit at from 6 to 25 per cent. Nobody else pays as much for it.

Co-operative rural credit will be a godsend to any state, especially to western states. It is going to come, but it will come sooner if we begin actively to agitate and promote its coming. The first system adopted may not meet all requirements, but it will lead to perfecting the best possible system based on our own needs and experience. We probably shall see both state and national systems and the one found most worthy will survive.

You have my heartiest support and best wishes in your effort to see that all the country schools in a county get equal support, according to their needs, from the county's school fund. Every Kansas boy or girl should come out of the common school with a complete, practical education, and with training in some special line of work that will fit them to earn a livelihood. This is vastly important to your children and to the state. It will depend largely upon getting more first-class teaching in country schools by persons who know and are in sympathy with country life. To

get this kind of teaching we shall have to make it worth while for men and women to give their lives to it. The thing that will help us to it quicker than any other is the rural high school wherever conditions make it possible.

Farming demands educated men and women. The agricultural colleges and universities, neither in the class room nor in their extension service can meet the full need. Every farm boy or girl desiring the equivalent of a good high school education, including instruction in agriculture, animal husbandry, horticulture, manual training and domestic science, should have the opportunity at home of acquiring that training. We must work for better rural and grade schools for the benefit of the vast number of children unable to obtain the advantages of higher education; we must work for more attention to the fundamental and practical in education; and for open school houses for the public and the encouragement of the social center idea in every community.

I think it has come about that we look to the good men—and to the good women, too—who live in the country and in the smaller towns, to lead the way in both moral and economic reforms. Without making any pretense to statesmanship, without posing as moral philosophers, the plain, every-day farmers of America, by the application of every-day common sense and common honesty and common decency to the problems of the states, are a greater influence in keeping the American people in the right track and keeping alive that righteousness which exalteth a nation.

STAY ON THE FARM—DON'T GO TO BIG CITIES.

*From an Address at the Idana Farmers' Picnic,
August, 1915.*

It seems to me we have lost too many bright young men and women who should have remained on the farm and in the rural communities. For half a century our national

system of taxation and our commercial system has placed high premiums upon city life and has discouraged rural farm life—with the inevitable result that our city population has increased in the past few decades far out of all proportion to the increase of farm population. Twenty years ago the cities contained only 20 per cent of our population; today nearly 50 per cent of our people live in the cities. And aside from the luring opportunities for making money, the “call of the city” is perhaps a wholesome craving, born as it is of the desire for fellowship, for amusement and culture. But the cost of gratifying this desire in the city is very great, involving loss of neighborliness, curtailment of freedom, sacrifice of identity.

The clean, wholesome life of the Kansas country folk as we find it typified in a quiet, decent, law-respecting community like yours, is far and away the happiest, the most useful life. We must, therefore, both from an economic and moral motive, do everything possible to keep our people, who live in the country and the small towns, from rushing into the already overcrowded cities and becoming consumers instead of producers. We must do everything possible to keep the best brains of the nation where the best brains originate—in the rural districts. They’ll not be wasted there.

I want to say to every ambitious young man and woman in this community, in every Kansas community—don’t go away from Kansas to the large cities. Our state needs especially every farm boy and girl, and needs them on the farms—not in the big cities.

Never in the history of the world has the large town or the great city had so little to offer the boy or girl from the country as today. Fortunately, we have few large cities in Kansas to lead these boys and girls of the farm into the many blind alleys of futureless work which abound in these congested centers where the struggle for existence is keener than ever before and the rewards correspond-

ingly small, where the temptations are many and especially strong for those who have seldom been subjected to the allurements and the distractions continually spread before city-bred boys and girls to their harm. Many, many boys who have in them the making of fine farmers and successful men come to the city and take jobs from which they never can hope to rise. The girls have even less of a chance. They must often work for a mere pittance, away from friends and with much less opportunity of ever having a home of their own. The cities are crowded with poor lawyers, poor doctors, poor insurance men, and poor office men—men who could have done far better at some other calling. Of the most favored, it is doubtful if more than one out of ten ever amasses a competency for old age or ever rises above the average level of existence if misfortune spares him that long.

A "stay-on-the-farm" movement is what we want—not so much a "back-to-the-farm" movement. We must strive to make country life so agreeable and interesting for them that the boys and girls will stay there until they reach the years of discretion, when there can be less doubt of a wise choice of life work. This, my friends, is to their interest, your interest and the nation's interest. And being a business man myself, one who has lived thirty years in a city of 50,000, I can say it without prejudice that one good farmer is worth more to Clay county and the state of Kansas than ten average men engaged in commercial or industrial occupations in the large city, for he will be more really successful and live a happier and more wholesome life.

I believe the farm and country life hold a bright future for country-bred and country-trained boys and girls. In my opinion theirs is the brightest prospect facing any of the young people of the United States at this time. Farming is about the only calling not overcrowded. Our population already is growing faster than a million a year. The producer's services in future are to be appreciated and

rewarded more and more. There are plenty of signs to indicate this even now. The unfair handicaps which have so long held the farming industry down are, I believe, soon to be removed as a means of salvation to the whole people; communication with the best and wholesomest cultural attractions of the cities and towns will become easier and easier of access to farm folks, and there is fair prospect that before many years the dwellers on western farms are going to be the most enviable people on earth. It is in the cities that the struggle for existence will grow keener and opportunities fewer. And so I urge my young friends in the country to stay on the farm for the better time that is coming.

But we must in the meantime strive to make country life as attractive as possible to these young people. The boys and girls on the farm and in the small towns need, need so badly, the wholesome kind of social life, the diversity of new interests, as a relief from the monotony of rural life at an age when youth and youthful spirits require safety valves. These aids are vital and necessary for their contentment in the growing, developing character-forming stage.

I am glad the social center idea is taking hold in Kansas. Until comparatively recently, the schoolhouse in this country has been used for but one purpose, that of housing the school. But I am thankful that the day is dawning in Kansas in which there will be no more locked and barred schoolhouse doors during vacation or at other times.

You have in Atchison county a school plant which has cost millions of dollars. Here are valuable buildings waiting for use, for the enlightening of the people in the problems which are facing us, in arousing men and boys and women to the highest efficiency in citizenship.

I know today of many rural communities in Kansas where the schoolhouse is the true center of community life—a place for play and recreation, a place for discussion of vital questions of the day, where they have a concert

and lecture hall, a meeting place for literary entertainments, festivals, institutes, moving picture shows, amateur theatricals, athletic exhibitions, baseball, basket ball and other games; township contests for the display of farm products, a library and reading room, a place for mass meetings and civic clubs, and numerous other social gatherings.

It is a great problem still to be worked out—this stay-on-the-farm idea.

But give the farmer and his family economic justice and a square deal and the problem is solved. The bright lights and the "Gay White Way" lure a few—many perhaps—to the city; the desire to wear a stiff collar and to keep the hands clean is the motive with some; the expectation of escaping hard work attracts a few foolish ones, but the majority of the people who leave the farm and go to the city do so because they believe that they can make more money in the city. They believe that there are bigger opportunities for them in the city. If we expect to keep them on the farm we must not only show them the opportunities which already exist there, but we must see to it that the farm opportunities are in reality as great as those of the city; we must see to it that the big city has no unfair advantage or artificial advantage over the farmer.

FARM WOMEN SHOULD HAVE MORE COMFORTS.

From an Address at Wetmore, Kan., District Fair, October 2, 1915.

The most severe indictment against the American farmer is that he often does not take time to give his family life's ordinary comforts. I believe men as a rule fail to realize the great demand made by home management and home cares on the time and strength of the unselfish mother and

homemaker. Unselfish is the proper word, for there are none so unselfish as they are. They prove their devotion every day in the week. When a man comes home from his work he drops most of his cares and responsibilities at the threshold of his home, and it is well that he does. But "mother" seldom or never drops hers. She can't. She is always on the job, always on call day or night. There is nothing truer in or out of the Bible, than the words of the familiar poem which declares—

"Man works from sun to sun,
But woman's work is never done."

It is only when "mother" finally becomes ill or breaks down under the strain or monotony of her daily and nightly round of duties, that many of us are brought to a realization of the innumerable chores and the load of detail she has been carrying. Then it seems to the man of the house that he has struck bottom in the Slough of Despond, that nothing else matters much, and that nothing is quite so important as mother's restoration to health.

I know nothing more chastening to the spirit of any man than such an experience as this. No man is ever quite so wretched or so helpless, whatever befalls him as he is under such circumstances as these. Therefore, I wish to make a plea on man's behalf, as well as woman's, for more step-saving and labor-saving conveniences in the home, more comfort and pleasure in life for "mother," and more opportunities for wife and daughters to broaden their lives and enrich their minds.

A woman in Bourbon county, who had broken down from overwork, had been carrying coal from the barn for years. When her husband was asked if there was any reason why a coal bunker could not have been provided near the cook stove and filled directly from the wagon, he answered that no one ever had thought of it. One of the most useful and helpful of these conveniences is having the

house piped for water. With water in the house and a few hairpins, it is said any Kansas woman can do anything. But I would not stop there. Every woman should have a cool screened porch in which to work during summer-time. And if the men folks are wise they will see that the kitchen and the home generally is the best equipped part of the farm.

Life is too short to wear it away in drudgery. Improvements in home and home living not only conserve the health and happiness of mother, but the health and general well-being of the whole family. No money is saved by not having them, by paying out instead, as much if not more money than they would cost, in doctor's bills or for a funeral.

I believe the farmers of Kansas live better than the farmers of many other states, but I should like to see them live better still. We have not reached the limit of sane and sensible home improvement by any means—the kind we cannot afford to do without. Men and women who work hard with hand or brain, or with both, must balance this labor with rest, comfort and recreation if they would continue and would keep young and vigorous. Anything which is an aid to the happiness and well-being of family, whose interests all center in mother, is an investment that not only pays large dividends financially, but is a fine aid to the contentment and progress of the young folks and a safeguard against losses and failure. They make us fit, and when as a man or woman we are fit, we can always do our best work and find real happiness in the doing.

THE FARMERS' TREMENDOUS RESPONSIBILITY.

*From an Address at the Wichita Wheat Congress, October
12, 1915.*

Personally and officially I am "very strong," as we say in the Kansas language, for agricultural and livestock exhibitions. I find this, the first big wheat show ever held, a wonderfully interesting and educational exhibit, a credit to the initiative and enterprise of Wichita and Kansas.

There is only one appropriate place in all the world for an international wheat show and that is next to the world's bread basket and the world's flour barrel. We have both the basket and the barrel in Kansas. Kansas is the world's greatest producer of high quality wheat. Step outside of the door, almost anywhere in Kansas, and you will be within seeing distance of the basket or the barrel, or both basket and barrel.

Wichita is right in the middle of the basket and is doing right to make that big fact known to the world—a world just now most vitally interested in knowing where its bread is to come from, notwithstanding this is a big wheat year in nearly all wheat-producing countries.

It may be true that the Northwestern mills grind a little more flour than we do, but they do it by grinding Kansas wheat.

It seems to me the consumer cannot expect any decided recession of prices as long as the war lasts. On the farm and in the factory we must continue to be the busiest people in the world. During the first year of the war approximately 370 million bushels of wheat were shipped to Europe—much more than a million bushels a day. For one, two or three years, more than 374 million people, repre-

senting the population of the countries at war, must look to us for nearly all the necessities of life, not simply during the war, but during several years of reconstruction after peace is declared; before the ruin of European agriculture can be restored and its farm population again recruited; before its mills and factories can again be set going. The resources of the United States as a producing nation are to be tested as they never have been tested before.

We shall be busy on the farm, busy in the factory, busier than we ever have been.

All this is fine, for it is fine to help a war-stricken world.

We are doing so well in Kansas compared to all the rest of the world that I fear the danger of going slack, a danger always attendant on prosperity.

It is the contented, well-fed, comfortable citizen who goes stale.

It is the prosperous, smoothly running business that first slows up and then slows down.

Human nature is so constituted that it seems to get farther with a fighting chance than it does with a golden opportunity.

We have come up thru hardships and adversity and are doing well in Kansas, but at the same time we are coming face to face with much the same world-old problems which have wrecked empires, vanquished nations, erased peoples.

I am not pessimistic about it, only deeply concerned and wishing every Kansan to realize to the utmost, the almost staggering responsibility that rests upon him, whether he thinks it does, or does not. I know every man and every woman present, has thought of some of these puzzling questions, perhaps all of them. It is well to discuss them, to consider them frequently at public gatherings.

Our standards are so wholesome in Kansas. We have labored so wisely and so well. Kansas is still so young,

strong, clean and virile, that it seems inevitable that the nation must look to us and not in vain, for a way out of many great difficulties.

We have done so well we must do far better. We must go on as we have begun, vigorously and persistently righting our errors, grappling with our difficulties, lining up, man to man and woman to woman, for the best in government, for the best in agriculture, for the best in education, in home life, in living; for fair play and a square deal for men and measures, in a high and loyal spirit of co-operation and good will.

As a people we are too generally intelligent, too generally forward-looking and enterprising, it seems to me, to fail in this great, big, fundamental purpose of life.

EVIL OF TENANCY AND THE SHORT LEASE.

From an Address at the Wichita Wheat Congress, October 12, 1915.

The more we do to emphasize, foster and develop our agricultural industry, the better for us and for our country. In history it is plainly written, over and over again, that God has wiped out whole civilizations and put the blight of decay and dissolution on great cities, simply to start a back-to-the-land movement.

What we must work for in Kansas is a stay-on-the-land movement. It should be our effort to make it decidedly worth while to stay on the land.

Some of the big things we haven't done in Kansas and must do, include longer leases, more general co-operation, more equitable terms between land owners and tenant farmers. How else are we going to maintain the workers

in our biggest industry, make first-class, home-owning, tax-paying citizens of them and have No. 1 farmers on our farms?

Farm tenancy and the short lease is spreading like the measles in Kansas. It is a much more serious and tenacious disease. It is destructive of soil, sinew and manhood, of landowners and landworkers. It will get us all if we don't get it.

I don't mean to be an alarmist, I am not alarmed, nor are you, I hope, but I am trying to state the matter as strongly as its importance warrants.

We have plenty of land in Kansas and we must make it more easily possible for the young men, and the men of small means, to become home-owners.

The one-year lease is not now a home-maker and probably never will be again. Let us have leases that build up the land, build up the man on the land, build up the landowner, the community and the state. Let's have leases that make good farming and good farmers possible. When we have done that, and perfected and extended an adequate and a fairly elastic system of rural credit, the tenancy problem will be in a fair way to take care of itself, along with several other serious difficulties.

Closely allied to this difficulty is the development and extension of our rural credit system, now in an uncertain and feeble infancy. We need farm credit for the tenant farmer even more than for the landowner.

Tied up with this is rural community organization, co-operative marketing, a really effective system of distribution which shall couple demand with supply and eliminate the greatest source of waste in the economy of the American nation.

Good roads come in here. We are talking big, but doing little. We haven't really got them. We are, if anything, a little behind other nearby states in this particular. We

are losing vastly more of actual benefit and cash than we have any idea we are losing and in ways many of us still are blind to.

Yet far more important than all these—tho vitally affected by each of them—the solution of all and the only solution, first, last, final, dependable—is education, especially rural education; and more comfort, well-being and happiness; and less irksome and exhausting drudgery in the farm home.

We are making fine progress here. Yet we have barely started. The future of Kansas is in the making, right now, in the tiny little schoolhouses which dot the map of Kansas like the holes in a sieve.

INCREASING FOOD PRODUCTION.

From an Address at the Agricultural Conference at Topeka, Kan., March 15, 1917.

This conference has not been called with the idea of solving the problem presented by the high cost of living. The farmers of Kansas are not responsible for that; the blame for "food riots" does not lie at the farmers' door. Economists are pretty well agreed, I think, that the influx of gold in the last two years, must inevitably result in a rise of prices. There is the first explanation of the increasing difficulty which our urban population encounters in keeping body and soul together. But over and above that, there exists in the minds of the people a well-defined suspicion that the manipulation of unscrupulous speculators is a most important factor in producing the greatly complained of cost of foodstuffs. Despite the protests of commission men and jobbers, the facts will not down; the doubling and trebling and quadrupling of the prices of many commodities after they reach the distributing market

point unmistakably to manipulation of a sort that must be stopped in the interest of both the producer and the consumer.

The freight congestion is, of course, another factor that has contributed to the shortage of available supplies in the centers of population. This is not because of any unwillingness on the part of the railroads to haul foodstuffs, but because until our recent embargo upon foreign shipments, the railroads were busy to the limit of their capacity in moving freight to seaport points destined to foreign ports. The freight for export is on the whole more profitable to haul than that for domestic use, because the foodstuffs take a relatively low freight rate. Also the long haul is more profitable than is freight destined to local points. This is the reason why such a point as DeKalb, Illinois, for example, in the very heart of an agricultural region, suffers from a flour shortage altho we have plenty of flour in Kansas. Speculators have found this freight congestion to their advantage in manipulating prices as the shortage in one place could not be met quickly, as it can in times when the freight situation is normal.

But taking all that into consideration the fact remains that the world's supply of foodstuffs is below normal. More than 25 million men have been withdrawn from productive pursuits and put under arms. But they keep right on consuming—perhaps on the whole in larger quantities than when engaged in their ordinary occupations. Other thousands of men have been withdrawn from their usual pursuits to supply the armies of Europe with munitions. It is impossible that this drain upon the industries of the world could fail to decrease production, no matter how great the effort of the nations at war to make up the deficiency.

I agree with Secretary Houston that there is no immediate cause for hysteria or panic. We are not going to starve to death this winter and there is no immediate need of food dictatorship. Our farmers will not be cajoled nor brow-

beaten into embarking upon unprofitable ventures in order to provide the manipulators of markets with the means of gambling; they will rightly insist that some of the evils of marketing and distribution be corrected while they endeavor to increase their production, so that neither producer nor consumer be left at the mercy of unrestricted greed.

I have every confidence in the public spirit of Kansas—as well as in the business sense of her producers. I have not called this meeting for the purpose of pointing out to our farmers their duty. But I am thoroly convinced that business foresight counsels a speeding-up of production; the world needs every pound of foodstuffs that we can produce, and the world is ready to pay for it; so, patriotism aside, business sense says “Produce it!”

THE EVIL OF FARM TENANCY.

From an Address at the Ottawa Fair, September 18, 1918.

As I see it, the most important economic problem we have in this country today is land owning and tenant farming. Most of our farmers now are tenant farmers, and the number is constantly increasing. This is not conducive to solving that other problem—how to keep the boys on the farm, nor how to get those boys back to the land who went years ago to the cities and now wish they could return. We must make it possible for tenant farmers to become farm owners, or make it possible and profitable for them to farm right—the way they would like to farm and would farm if they did not have to work the land for all it is worth to get anything for their labor.

I find mighty few satisfied tenants and landholders. Let me cite the case of one man, a good farmer who rents his

land to a tenant: His crops are growing a little lighter each year. His income, as well as the tenant's, is growing less. He tries to get better terms out of the tenant, the tenant tries to get better terms out of him; no improvements are made, the soil grows a little poorer every year, and matters are going from bad to worse.

Under the present system it is nearly, if not quite impossible, for the land owner and the tenant to do better by each other. No tenant can afford to build up another man's run-down farm, and the high price of land is making it more and more difficult for a tenant to buy a farm of his own. The Farm Credits Law can't help him. It aids the men who have land. And if this law made it possible for even a fraction of all farm tenants to buy farms, there would simply be another big rise in the price of land.

If we go on in the old way many more years, there will be worse and more of it ahead. I think we are all beginning to see this and to look for the way out. First, we must stop the big land speculator who is holding large tracts for a higher price—a higher price earned for him by the labor of others. We must adjust the big land speculator's taxes so he must sell or farm his large tracts. When this is done, he will cut these big holdings up into farms and sell the farms. Tenancy will pass away. With it will go the danger of a land-holding aristocracy.

I am glad to see that more and more of our farmers, as well as the farmers of other states, are coming to this way of thinking; also the best and most trustworthy farm journals and the big organizations of farmers. For if we don't make the farming industry safely and generously profitable, we shall go down and out as a nation, and I can't believe any such thing as that is going to happen to the people of the United States of America. In my opinion the farming industry—critical as is its present situation—never has had so bright a future before it.

CO-OPERATION THE FARMER'S GREAT NEED.

*From an Address at Reading Farmers Picnic, Lyon County,
September 10, 1915.*

Co-operation and organization are the watchwords of American advancement and Kansas farmers must come to it. The farmer buys of organized trusts and sells to organized middlemen. How can he hold his own if he is unorganized? Organized as effectively as the American Federation of Labor, the farmers of the United States could dictate the price of foodstuffs and, if so disposed, force the enactment of laws that would for a time place them in affluence and cause hardship to nearly every other class of people. We do not want that. But Kansas country people should realize that "In union there is strength" and should get together for mutual benefit. Every city has its commercial club, every village its improvement association. Is the man who farms, whose investment totals many thousands of dollars and whose operations sometimes run into tens of thousands, less a business man than the man who sells a few dollars worth of goods over a counter every year? Community organization and co-operation among country people not only means more dollars, but a broader and better social life, and an education at home for your children.

And I believe this leaven is working. Wherever one goes today; all over Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and other western states, I find the men and women and the children are talking of clubs and associations, the end and the aim of which are to make life larger and more wholesome. The forces of the countryside are gathering for a great forward

movement. There is everywhere a note of comradeship that stirs one as the blast of a trumpet.

So I say the fundamental task of rural advance is local rural community building—the gradual erection of stronger communities, founded on better farm practice, securing a fair profit thru better farm business methods, and growing mightily ambitious for a better farm life.

How can this fundamental rural task be forwarded in Kansas in 1915 and 1916?

First, organize local community campaigns in as many neighborhoods as possible. Seek the formation of a community council or federation, made up of representatives of all the organizations in the neighborhoods that have any interest in the common good—the farmers' union, the grange, the church, the women's club, and so on. Endeavor to make an intelligent plan for improving the community in all needful respects. Let the schoolhouse become the community center.

It is such men as you who are most deeply interested in every move for civic righteousness and good government in the state of Kansas—men who go ahead without regard to the applause or the abuse of the crowd—men who have the breadth of vision to see the right and the moral courage to do the right, tho the heavens fall—upon whom we must depend for the solution of the many pressing problems peculiar to these times.

There is no question but that the farmers of Kansas, constituting almost 60 per cent of its population and having two-thirds of its taxable wealth, should have a vital influence upon the legislation of the state. The farmers are the source of the most influential political opinion and influence in Kansas, and are certain to become more influential. But they are not at this time exercising the influence upon legislation which their number entitles them to exert.

The professional politicians, usually not farmers, are not numerous as compared with the great number of farmers

in this state, yet their influence, tho not so great as formerly, is still very large, simply because they stand together; they are organized, they know what they want, and they have a pretty good idea how to get it, and you have noticed that they are not "backward about going forward" when it comes to asking for what they want. Tho relatively not numerous, they have thought in the past and many of them now think that they should have everything to say in the matter of selecting candidates for office. That thru these candidates they should control the course of much legislation.

Lawyers, too, are not over modest; they think they are especially qualified to make our laws. And for the most part in this country we have taken them at their word, for we have been ruled as no other nation in history ever was ruled, by lawyers. We need lawyers in our law-making bodies, but in my judgment, lawyers in our halls of legislation, state and national, have had representation far beyond that to which their number entitles them. The bankers, the railroad men, the newspaper publishers themselves, tho small in number as compared with the farmers, and owning nothing like the wealth which the farmers of this state own, have been relatively more successful in "getting what they wanted," because better organized and more insistent upon getting what they consider their rights. I am not criticising any of these special business interests for attempting, when they do it legitimately, to influence legislation. I am criticising the farmer for his too common policy of not asking effectively for what he should have, and then sometimes complaining because he doesn't get it.

Now that the primary is a settled fact in Kansas, farmers can "get to" their law-makers more effectively than ever before. This is one method available to the farmers of Kansas for the effective expression of their will.

Another method is by organization, by co-operation. Co-operation in countries like England and Denmark has enabled consumers to deal directly with the producers or with

one or two larger middlemen. Thus the consumers' dollar is divided among fewer people and the farmer gets more of it. I think we must sooner or later follow along a similar line in this country.

A number of farmers went to Chicago several months ago to investigate this situation. They found that some of the food products they were growing had passed thru six hands before they reached the ultimate consumer. Now I suppose that no one of the middlemen took too large a profit, but it requires no argument at all to prove that this system of doing business is wholly wrong and must eventually be disastrous. It means that our system of distribution in this country must be reorganized. It is asserted that there are more people in the United States who are non-producers than in any other nation on the globe. This situation inevitably leads to increased cost of living. Any 10-year-old child can see that.

When the farmers of America become really in earnest about co-operation and organization as they are in Denmark and England, they will have the active assistance of all the daily and weekly newspapers. These newspapers will then give them all the aid and all the publicity possible. Tho myself a newspaper man, proud of my profession, I confess that the newspapers of the country, especially in our larger cities, often have represented interests and points of view as far as possible from those of the farmer. If our farmers, representing over 40 millions of our population, were organized as they are in Denmark, our metropolitan papers, our legislatures and Congress would be compelled to take notice of them and their interests, continually. The farmers can get these things done in Kansas, or in the nation at large when they are really in earnest. And they can have the earnest and effective support of the newspapers of the country, most of them, whenever they demand it.

All that you farmers of Kansas want, as I understand it, is evenhanded justice; an absolutely square deal for

every man, woman and child within the borders of this state, and on that proposition I stand with you, heart and soul.

PACKER CONTROL OF LIVESTOCK MARKETS.

*From an Address to the Farmers' Union, Topeka, Kan.,
February 2, 1916.*

We are up against several problems in this country. One of them we have had with us for a long time: I know and you know that there is something wrong with our livestock markets. I know and you know that that something is doing more to hold back our progress toward better farming than probably any other one thing.

When in two days last fall the price of hogs declined \$1.25 a hundred, it was plain some powerful interest was unlawfully and wickedly manipulating the market. Except in times of panic, the law of supply and demand doesn't take a landslide jump like this. It works much more slowly and naturally. Usually it gives warnings of changes to come, long in advance. It was about time for "the packers' fall raid," as it has come to be called, and the squeeze went on suddenly with a thump.

Producers, after they got their bearings, held off for a while. They could see nothing to justify a slump like that. They couldn't believe it would last. Prices dropped lower—then lower. Little by little the market receipts gained momentum, as the farmers decided it was better to cash-in for what they could get than to hold on in the face of the higher prices of corn and its actual scarcity in several of the corn states. Then, finally, the usual thing happened, there was a scramble to market hogs, the market records were broken by the rush. The producers were the losers.

It was a great victory—for the packers. And maybe

they needed the money—Great Britain had held up 15 or 16 million dollars worth of their beef—but need of money is not a license to go out in the road and take it away from all comers.

So far as I can see this is just what the packers did, and I am not lonesome in that opinion.

We know, virtually, that the packers control all stockyards and their terminal facilities; even banks and loan companies. We know that in various ways they discipline the producer who shows a little independence. We know the packers have repeatedly been fined for overstepping the laws intended to regulate big business—laws intended to keep big business from eating up little business.

There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that the livestock markets are systematically controlled by factors other than supply and demand. When the profit in feeding steers is so painfully absent, as it has been in the last year; when we have raids on the hog market as we had last fall, it is as plain as the nose on a man's face that there are abnormal forces controlling the price of farm products; that some powerful interest is illegally manipulating the market, and I believe that powerful interest to be the big packing houses.

The fact which the farmers of Kansas must face is this: The markets of the United States are organized, no doubt with headquarters at Chicago. Of its kind this is one of the best organizations the United States ever has seen, the \$1.25 drop was an excellent illustration of its team-work efficiency. But it is so grave and so serious a menace to the progress of the West that something must be done. And I think something will be done, but the producers must not leave it solely to the state and the government. They themselves have a remedy—organization and co-operation—possibly the establishment of public abattoirs and cold storage plants will come where the producers can slaughter

their own cattle and sheep and hogs and sell them on the block instead of the hoof.

I am glad to bring you the information that the federal department of justice has just entered upon an investigation of livestock prices at the central markets. Only recently I received a letter from the United States District Attorney asking for the co-operation of the state of Kansas. He will get it. I told him we would help him in every possible way to get at the bottom of this infamous combine of the packers. I have directed Mr. Mercer, the head of our state livestock department, one of the best men in Kansas for this work, to give federal officials every possible help, and he will have all the backing and assistance from the governor that he needs.

I hope for definite, tangible results from this investigation. It has more steam behind it from the producing end. I think we are going to get somewhere, and I want you to know that all the power of the state of Kansas and the strength of the governor will be used to help the work along.

If the market is being controlled, as it obviously is, there are laws which will reach it. We are going to have a full and complete investigation. If the packers are in the wrong the time is coming when they will go to prison or mend their ways.

It is evident the livestock industry of Kansas never can grow to capacity until the marketing system is improved. I think if the federal officials will enforce the laws we already have, the sale of livestock thru ordinary channels will be much more steady and profitable to the producers. In addition to this, the effort must be made to provide competition in other ways. Why, for example, should there not be a considerable development in this country of co-operative packing plants? We are making rapid progress in Kansas in co-operative efforts; the grain elevators, the Farmers Union, the Grange and many other forms of co-operative effort are showing surprisingly suc-

cessful growth. The people of the state are getting used to co-operation—they are seeing that it is profitable and right, that it is doing a great deal to develop our greatest industry and that, as we all know, is farming. I believe we have learned to work together well enough in Kansas and the West so that we can take up other forms of co-operative effort, and especially co-operative packing plants.

If, after a careful study this is not considered feasible, perhaps municipal owned packing plants enabling the producers to market their stuff dressed instead of on the hoof, might afford the necessary competition to insure right prices.

This has been the way that the movement has gone forward in other nations, where the co-operative idea has been developed further than in this country. In Denmark, which is leading the world in co-operative effort, 60, or about two-thirds of the packing plants of the country, are owned in co-operation, mostly by farmers, and they have 95,000 shareholders. This system eliminates six of the eleven profits that are made under our present plan after the stock leaves the producer and before it reaches the consumer. These profits are the shipper's profit, freight to market, terminal or switching charge, yardage, feed, commission, a packer's profit, a salesman's salary and expenses, freight to the retail market, drayage and a butcher's profit. The meat from these plants in Denmark has set the standard in the markets of Europe, and the producers are getting all that the product brings from the consumer, less the actual cost of manufacturing, selling and transportation.

All that Kansas farmers are asking, as I understand it, is a square deal; that the market shall be controlled by the old law of supply and demand. No men have a better right to a square deal and I am with them body and soul in that demand. It is the basis of all business life. If the market conditions can be placed on a satisfactory basis the live-

stock business will make a big growth in the next five years. Nothing better could happen to Kansas. I want you to know you can count on me at every turn of the road in this or any other matter that will help you get what honestly belongs to you.

PRISON OR BIG STICK FOR PACKERS.

*From an Address to the Farmers' Union, Smith Center,
February 4, 1918.*

Next to the war, I am more concerned about the future of the farming industry than about anything else. The war being right on our backs we have got of course to deal with that first, but also we must be looking ahead to our economic future, the mightiest of all our problems.

Farming is our oldest big business. It is our biggest big business. It is our most important big business. But instead of being our strongest, most thriving industry, it is our weakest. It attracts much less attention than any other, makes much less noise than any other and gets less really helpful legislation than any other. Also it seems to have no economic rights that any other business, big or little, is bound to respect.

You have had plenty of proof of all this during the last year. And of course you know the answer. Farmers do not yet club together, nor work together, nor get together as men do in the other industries and professions. But you are beginning to do this and that is one of the most hopeful signs these dark days—for a nation without a prospering and progressive farm population is a sick nation—sick unto death.

And our farm industry is sick, very sick. For a generation a disease almost as ruinous as drouth and grasshoppers has fastened itself on the farming industry. Years

ago, like a gigantic cattle tick, a completely organized, predatory and lawless monopoly attached itself to the West's livestock industry and has bled it unmercifully ever since. But it begins to look as if we might shake it off. Before the Federal Trades Commission gets thru with its job at Chicago there will be no brand of whitewash, legal or legislative, that will stick to the packers.

We have got to shake off this bloodsucker, or reform it, if we are going to get anywhere in agriculture. We never had sound banks and reliable banking until we sent dishonest bankers to prison. We never shall have a square deal for the livestock farmer, nor an honest livestock market, until we send dishonest packers to the penitentiary, and I believe we are getting ready to do just that.

A warning that "nothing could stop criminal prosecutions," was put in writing and submitted to the packers by their own legal staff of smart lawyers in 1916, when the present proceedings were threatened. These men, keen judges of law and of evidence, and fully informed of the methods of the packers, notified them in polite but unmistakable language, that a criminal trial, conviction and prison sentence probably awaited them if caught—as they have been caught—with the goods.

This virtually is a confession of guilt, an admission that a prison sentence was justifiable and inevitable under the law.

The packers pulled every wire and used every instrument at their command to head off this investigation—and failed!

Do you get the mighty significance of that failure? There are men still in this world who cannot be bought. Yes, there are. They are increasing instead of decreasing. Also it is our American habit to submit to an evil until it seems it actually has mastered us, then to turn on it suddenly and exterminate it root and branch.

It seems to me we have now reached this turning point with the packers. There can be no fines this time for the

packers to collect from the public thru lower prices wrung from the producer and higher prices extorted from the consumer. There can be no whitewashing, no miscarriage of justice. The law must take its inevitable course this time as it always does with the little malefactor, and that course can be none other than a prison sentence.

We never have been in such great need of an act of simple justice in high places. We never have needed so emphatic an example and an object lesson as this would be. A packer sent to prison for his misdeeds would be serving emphatic and unmistakable notice on all grafters, big and little, that their turn was coming. It would be the greatest, the wholesomest, the most telling and powerful argument that predatory greed and profiteering shall cease, and that is the reason why I believe it is coming.

A remedy must be sought which will control the greed of these men, either by administering these plants as public utilities and placing the packers and their terminals under direct public regulation, or by a system of municipal or state packing plants, or by establishing local or community meat packing plants operated on the co-operative plan. As the last two means must of necessity be a development of slow growth, it may be sufficient for the time to take charge of the meat packing industry as provided for in the Food Act and work out the manner of its future administration after the war.

But we are done with fining. It now must be prison or the big stick.

We know, virtually, that the packers control all stockyards and their terminal facilities; even many banks and loan companies. We know that in various ways they discipline the producer who shows a little independence. We know the packers have repeatedly been fined for overstepping the laws intended to regulate big business—laws intended to keep big business from eating up little business.

NO DANGER OF PROFITEERING IN FARMING.

From an Address at Alma Fair, October 20, 1917.

I don't believe there is any great danger of farming ever getting in the profiteer class. Before many years I think profiteering will be put out of business entirely. I hope that time will come soon. But I do believe that every thinking man wishes the man on the farm, and the farm industry, to thrive and prosper. That it has not had a square deal and is not getting one now, is mainly because in the game of grab that is going on, it has been unable to assert its rights, or to have them asserted for it, and the greedy fellows are taking advantage of it as they always have done.

Just now, how to support his family and save his country, is the man-sized job nearly every Kansas farmer has in front of him, and the profiteers are largely to blame for it. The general public doesn't yet know, nor understand, what a heroic fight is being made on Kansas soil. Notwithstanding 2 acres out of every 3 failed to produce a crop at our last harvest, leaving our wheat raisers with 6 million unproductive acres, they have gone ahead and planted a war crop of 10 million acres, in a year so disastrous to them that Kansas fell from sixth place in the ranks of big crop-producing states to fourteenth place. No such slump in our relative standing ever has occurred before. Then the price fixed for wheat in many instances, took away the last chance many of our grain farmers had for "breaking even." Some of them even had to borrow money to buy seed for the new crop. Despite these great obstacles, despite the labor shortage and the large number of Kansas boys who have gone from the farm into the army

or the navy, the farmers of Kansas somehow have managed to put in a record-breaking acreage, notwithstanding. I don't know any finer example of Kansas pluck. The nation has had no finer demonstration of patriotism by any state or industry since the war began.

I hope, somehow, we shall pull thru. But if it were not for the profiteering from which our farmers are suffering greatly, in spite of the regulating that has been done higher up, we should have a fairer chance to pull thru, notwithstanding the complication of our farm labor shortage and the extremely unfavorable condition of the growing crop up to this time.

In its price-fixing higher up, the government apparently has been too largely influenced by the interests it has attempted to regulate instead of dominating them. It invited them in, virtually to make their own terms. The one exception was the farm industry, which in the opinion of few farmers was really or adequately represented. The coal operators, to use the words of Emerson Carey, state fuel administrator for Kansas, "are bigger than the Fuel Administration." The fact is that the word of this and that interest has been taken in the fixing of prices, and their representatives have been put on boards appointed to administer price regulations. I fear we haven't much cause to expect relief from them. The packers, who sold "embalmed beef" to the government during the Spanish-American war, are today compelling Uncle Sam, and the men who are going to the trenches to fight for them, to pay from two to four prices for leather goods and footwear. The packers will be allowed to make 9 per cent profit on meat products, which they have always declared they produced at a loss, and 15 per cent on the rest of their products.

We cannot expect much relief from greedy combinations which never have shown they had a conscience nor a particle of integrity in regard to obedience to law. We cannot expect big business to do other than take the best care

of itself, nor to be very fierce with any of the jobbers and its other customers whom it catches profiteering.

And when it comes to the profiteering evil, the government, apparently, thinks only of the cities. I have sent many letters to Washington to show that it is even a more serious and far-reaching evil in the country. An effort has been made to regulate the price of mill feed. It has been regulated between the mill and the handlers of the product, but the stock feeders are receiving the benefit in so few instances that many have had to quit and there has been a landslide of half-fat stock sent to market, which later on, if not now, we shall need woefully.

If you don't pull Uncle Sam out of the hole, I don't know who will pull him out. He seems well convinced of that himself. But so far, while our farmers are facing a shortage of labor, a scarcity of good seed, high interest charges, high prices for feed and seed, the lowest condition for winter wheat we have ever had at this time of year—and the loss to the ranks of better paid labor in the cities, of as many trained farmers and farm hands as we have sent to the army and navy—Uncle Sam has signally failed to give us the same degree of protection he has given the great profit-producing organizations. The packers get their 9 to 15 per cent, the railroads their regular dividends, the immensely wealthy steel trust has a generous margin of profit, the millers are well taken care of and the coal barons are charging higher prices than last year. But it is up to the farmer and stock raiser to take care of himself as best he may, foregoing his own profit, but paying profiteer rates to all others while doing his utmost to stand loyally by Uncle Sam in this death-grapple.

I don't believe it was intended to put farmers in the hole in this way. I don't think we should hold Uncle Sam too strictly to account in this time of great extremity for his apparent discrimination, but I cannot help thinking if the producers had been called in for consultation as freely as were millers, wholesalers and the representatives

of various branches of big business, we should not now be so terribly hampered on all sides, and thousands of half-fat cattle would not have been shipped to market when every source of human food should be developed to the maximum. The Kansas City cattle market in recent weeks has been swamped at times by the heavy receipts of this class of stock. Even dairy herds have gone to the block.

We are now supposed to be straining every nerve at conservation, but a conservation policy which does not conserve, promote, and protect the thrift and progress of the American farming industry—the source of all our strength and vigor as a nation—is a mighty short-sighted policy.

These then are our difficulties, just now. No people ever have faced a situation with better spirit or with greater courage. That is the Kansas attitude of mind. Let us do the very best we can to maintain our fighting edge, for I am convinced there is a better time coming for the American farmer in which he and his calling will be fittingly recognized and the greatest American industry of all be given a square deal, and this, my friends, is all it ever has needed.

NOT FOOD EMBARGO BUT SUPPRESSION OF FOOD TRUST NEEDED.

*From an Address to Stockmen at Arkansas City, January
23, 1917.*

It is not a difficult matter to figure out a serious food shortage in this, or any other country—when the speculators do the figuring. Knowing this to be true, and having a fairly dependable knowledge of this nation's industrial history, I must confess that the recent talk of a food embargo does not find me a patient listener. Nor does such

talk alarm me. I do not for a moment believe the present national administration would add another to its already formidable list of blunders, and legislation of that kind most certainly would come under precisely that head. It would create country-wide resentment which President Wilson, you may be sure, does not desire to stir up right now, or during his term of office.

The really important part of the food situation, the part that ought to have the immediate and vigorous attention of the Department of Justice, is more in legislation looking to food control in the interest of the people—not in a supposed food shortage. One does not have to go beyond the reports of the Department of Agriculture itself to find the reason for the exorbitant prices demanded for the staples of life. The reason will not be found on the farms. It will not be apparent in the farmers' bank accounts, nor in the sales of motor cars or other conveniences the farmers are buying. It will be found in the store houses owned or controlled by several hundred firms of speculators whose holdings have lately been investigated by the Department of Agriculture. These reports are now public property, as the food ought to be.

When the government of Germany or some other war-torn country arbitrarily takes control of food supplies, Americans are very likely to declare that such rule never would be tolerated in a free country. And this is exactly what is wrong in America today: In many respects we have too much freedom. A certain class is prone to mistake freedom, liberty of action, for license to do just as that class wishes to do, without any thought for the rights of others. Now, the framers of the Constitution did not think of freedom in any such light. The arrogant assumption of the class I mention to enrich itself at the expense of the helpless millions is the sort of conduct which, in the past, has caused revolutions. In this country, sooner or later, it will bring upon food speculators the public con-

demnation, and the legislative action, which has sounded the death-knell of the liquor traffic.

The man who disregards such expressions of public opinion does not know his country's history. The man who imagines himself safe in the security of centralized wealth, who declares, with the customary bravado of the guilty, that public opinion may be sneered at, as did a so-called Egg King in Chicago, not long ago, is preparing for himself a world of trouble. It is one of the most peculiar phenomena of modern times that business men, otherwise mentally normal, are apparently unable to realize the danger of trying to build up in America a commercial autocracy which threatens the welfare of the people.

Obviously, in a country so large as this we must have cold storage plants. The people cannot be fed from day to day unless we have a supply upon which to draw, but when men combine to withhold from the markets millions upon millions of pounds of the principal food products, as men have done and are doing this winter, quite frankly to influence the price of those products for their own benefit, then I believe a liberal application of the rule of food control for the people would be a mighty good thing for America.

In the face of such flagrant speculation as this I find it possible to sympathize with the governments of Europe. One may deplore the strange statesmanship of those countries in the matter of settling disputes by war, but it is difficult to deny our admiration for the efficient manner in which they deal with men who try to "corner" anything the people need. We need a little of that efficiency over here.

With the great railway terminals choked with trains of freight, the food the markets need; with trainloads of food spoiling while the West pleads for cars to transport grain, and coal is unobtainable because it cannot be moved, the whole condition due to the machinations of speculators, it

is indeed a severe strain on the country's credulity and patience to talk of a food shortage!

There are more than 6 million farms in America. Kansas, one of the big wheat states, has nearly 178,000! What might happen if an embargo were placed on wheat or other cereals at the moment when farmers seemed most likely to reap a fair reward for their labor? Isn't it interesting to note that when the price of steel goes down the production decreases immediately, apparently with automatic regularity? We hear nothing about an embargo on steel or on munitions of war, however. It seems that some men turn naturally on the farmers when someone must be attacked—and agriculture the greatest industry in the world!

Well, the reason is not far to seek: The steel makers would be in Washington within a few hours if their business were threatened. The farmers, it seems, will meet and adopt a few resolutions, and then go back home and plant some more wheat.

If the two pictures present a problem surely the answer is easy. When the farmers—and this term includes livestock producers—take charge of their own business, as they have a perfect moral and legal right to do, when they see to it that their representatives in Congress are as energetic in the farmers' interests as other Congressmen are solicitous for the welfare of the munitions millionaires, then the farmers will get a fair share of the wealth their labor creates. And not one moment sooner. Take from the farmers of America the reward they have a right to expect for their part in feeding the world when most of it is at war, and you will deal agriculture the foulest blow in history, and do more than any other influence to retard its progress.

PROBLEMS OF RURAL LIFE MANY AND DIVERSE.

*From an Address at Missouri State Agricultural College,
Columbia, Mo., January 14, 1914.*

The present-day problems which belong distinctively to the farmer are many and diverse. And every one of them is far reaching in its effect, many of them being entwined with the very life of the nation. Bill Shiftless, for example, may think it nobody's business but his own whether he raises 20 bushels of corn an acre or 100 bushels, whether he depletes his soil or conserves its fertility, whether he lets the weeds take his crop or keeps it in a high state of cultivation—but Bill is wrong. The price of bread and butter and meat and shoes and clothing and everything the American public consumes is influenced by the size of Bill Shiftless's crop and the condition of Bill Shiftless's farm. One half the state or nation cannot prosper if the other half suffers. Our idle class in America is in reality very small and is growing smaller every day. Even our very few very rich people—and they are very few compared to the large number of us common people that Lincoln loved—now feel it is a disgrace not to work, or pretend to work, at something. The influence of one Bill Shiftless is infinitesimal, to be sure, but a few hundred thousand Bill Shiftlesses can make or break the state or nation.

And so it is with every problem with which you farmers are struggling. I do not wonder that the American farmer occasionally resents the benevolent interest taken in his affairs by the banker and the railroad president and the editor and the preacher and the politician—but you must remember that all the rest of the nation depends upon the farmer; all these men who preach at you and lecture you

are vitally interested from a selfish standpoint, if you will, in your prosperity—because their prosperity depends upon you. So it is not strange that they are so ready with willing advice.

It is not of the conservation of the soil, nor of crop rotation, nor of any other phase of technical husbandry that I want to talk to you—important as they are. Despite the very commendable progress we are making in increasing the yield of field and flock and herd; despite the increased price, as measured by dollars and cents, which the American farmer has received for his products in recent years, every thinking man realizes that all is not well with the man who tills the soil. Kansas farmers on the whole are doing better perhaps than their fathers did; they are not howling calamity; they are not pessimistic, but they are thinking and thinking deeply on those questions which concern them and their families, and they know that things are not altogether and exactly right. We don't all agree in our diagnosis of the trouble; we don't all agree as to the remedy to be applied; but I think we all do agree that there is something wrong with present conditions and all agree that they can be bettered.

In the first place, we have lost too many bright men and women who should have remained on the farm. For a half century our national system of taxation and our commercial system has placed a high premium upon urban life and has discouraged farm life—with the inevitable result that our city population has increased in the past few decades far out of all proportion to the increase of farm population. And aside from the luring opportunities for making money, the "call of the city" is perhaps a wholesome craving, born as it is of the desire for fellowship, for amusement and culture. But the cost of gratifying this desire in the city is very great, involving loss of neighborliness, curtailment of freedom, sacrifice of identity.

I believe we should seek to develop the collective or co-operative method of doing the business of the farm. The

co-operative plan is spreading. It should not be entered upon hastily, but it promises to render more help to the farmer than does perhaps any other one thing.

Heretofore the farmer too often has been only a hireling in his own house. He has been the laborer who did the hard work but received only such profits as were left him by his industrial masters—these masters being the men from whom he bought his supplies; the men who converted his products into secondary form; the men who marketed his products; and the men who lent him money to carry on his business or to buy food from other farmers while he worked.

When railroads, and other commercial and industrial concerns can borrow money at much less interest on security bound to fluctuate more rapidly than land or livestock or crop values, it is time to put farm financing on a more stable and a more just basis. The farm credit systems of Europe may not meet our needs, but what we get in the future in the way of stability of loan values, lower rate in consequence, longer term loan, amortization feature by which principal is paid with the interest each time and the loan wiped out by the time the term is ended, will be by organized effort. Alone as individuals, farmers are helpless in facing any of the new demands of a changing civilization.

I hate demagoguery, and I would do nothing to stir up class feeling; but the big facts in this matter must not be blinked, and it will require only a little thought to show that the farmer has surrendered to other interests all the business side of agriculture apart from production, and that all these other interests have prospered in greater degree than has the farmer, who is the creator of all the basic wealth. The merchant who has sold the farmer his supplies; the grain buyers and corn buyers and cattle buyers and cold storage plants who have marketed his product; the millers and packers who have converted his product into more finished forms; the money-lenders and the time-

merchants who have furnished him credit—all these have taken their tolls, and in nearly every instance their profits have been larger than those made by the farmer himself. It can be shown beyond any question that in some lines of farming the farmer receives only thirty-five cents of the dollar which the ultimate consumer pays for the farmer's product.

Now what are the lines of co-operation that we must develop if the farmer is really to take control of these profit-absorbing phases of his own business, and get his proper share of the final consumer's dollar? To effect this result it seems to me that our farmers everywhere must definitely resolve upon five lines of co-operation:

- (1) Co-operation in buying supplies for making farm products.

- (2) Co-operation in raising farm products.

- (3) Co-operation in finishing farm products.

- (4) Co-operation in standardizing and marketing farm products.

- (5) Co-operation in securing capital for making and marketing farm products.

But you must do these things for yourselves. If you depend upon people in other walks of life to effect and carry on this work it had better never be undertaken. In every community lives some man or woman capable of leadership who could start a movement that would benefit a whole surrounding country, and the people know whom to follow. Leadership is a gift of God. He will hold you accountable if you are not giving your best in service. Here is a great opportunity, and the work must be done at home.

If our country is worth living in and fighting for, let us love it so well that we shall be glad to accept the charge of citizenship as a duty as well as a privilege and to give it businesslike thought and consideration.

CHURCH AND WELFARE ADDRESSES

Born a Quaker, during much of his life Arthur Capper did not have access to a house of worship of that faith, and so associated himself with other denominations. In this way he acquired a wide catholicity of view. It is thru the avenue of the church, the Y. M. C. A. and similar organizations that most of his views in regard to social improvement and human welfare have been voiced.

THE CHURCH AND ITS CIVIC DUTY.

From an Address at the Dedication of Atchison M. E. Church, September 5, 1915.

My friends, I am not at all sure that this Sabbath evening might not have been more profitably spent had I sat in a pew, and with you listened to a real sermon preached by your faithful pastor—the man who ministers to your spiritual needs—who knows the message that your souls require at this time.

It is as a layman and a fellow Kansan that I address you; my only hope is that I may leave with you a few thoughts that will strengthen your hands, awaken your enthusiasm and inspire your courage for the big task you have undertaken.

You good people of Atchison “purpose to build a house for the name of the Lord, my God,” as Solomon did of old—to erect a temple, a place of worship, that shall be fit and proper, and in keeping with the bounties that the

Almighty has showered upon you. You will bring your gifts—some cheerfully, some grudgingly; some liberally and some with no great bounty—but you will come as the spirit moves you and give your mite or your thousands to the building of this beautiful temple which shall stand for generations as a monument to the sober-minded, God-fearing people of Atchison—a testimony to your love of righteousness, a visible evidence to the Almighty that your minds are not entirely engrossed with the material things of life—that your hearts are not wholly given to the world and its ways.

And I am sure that the members of this church and congregation will feel that God has given them a great opportunity in the work before them; an opportunity for loyalty; an opportunity for devotion; an opportunity above all for sacrifice!

Let us silently give thanks to the God in whose honor you are about to erect a temple, that this opportunity has come to you, that the privilege was not withheld from you and passed on to your children or your children's children—that now is the time and the opportunity is yours!

My friends, I shall not presume to speak to you of the spiritual aspect of your new house of worship. But as a layman, as a citizen, and as one of your public officials, I am glad of the opportunity to say a few words to you tonight about the place the Church occupies in the life and well-being of Kansas and of the nation.

It is true that we are living in an age of materialism; the only God that many of us know seems to be the Almighty Dollar.

I do not believe that we are as a nation less religious than other peoples; I do not believe that we love money and material things more than do other nations; we have had big things to do. We had a wilderness to conquer—a continent to cover with a network of railways—cities to build; mines, such as the world never before had dreamed of, to develop; rivers to span, forests to convert into fields,

and deserts to make bloom as a garden. We have had a new civilization to plant in a wilderness—and it has been a task calling for all the energy, all the vigor, all the concentration of strong men and women.

It has been easy for us, engrossed in this work, to become so absorbed in it that we forget the higher things of life. It has been easy for the man intent upon conquering the elements, upon annihilating space, upon making a million bushels of grain grow where none grew before, to forget that his help and strength must come from above and to postpone the consideration of the eternal verities to a more convenient season. It has been easy for us to rely so wholly upon our own efforts that we have lain ourselves open to the charge that we are money-mad and that our people, our nation, is grossly materialistic.

We are a careless people, but at the bottom we are not an irreligious people. I am happy in the belief that the great heart of the American people—however indifferent we may seem and however lax we may be—is not antagonistic to the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ. And this to me is what makes the opportunity of the Church; this, it is, that calls for renewed and unceasing effort on the part of all those who say in faith “Thy Kingdom come.”

I cannot conceive of any sane man living in America in this Twentieth Century, who can fail to recognize the value of the Christian Church to the community and to the state. Putting aside the salvation of human souls—ignoring the spiritual welfare of the human race, the Church still stands as the great bulwark of our civilization, the most vital thing in our national life, the anchor which holds us to our ideals, the leaven which permeates society and keeps it alive.

We may freely acknowledge that the Church on earth is far from perfect—it cannot attain perfection so long as it is made up of imperfect, fallible human beings. We may freely admit that it has shortcomings; but at the same time we must recognize that our civilization, our culture, our

very existence as a nation rest upon the Church of the Living God and its teachings. America without it, is inconceivable.

We must not forget, as we sometimes do, that colonial America was populated very largely by men and women seeking religious freedom. There were a few soldiers of fortune and adventurers, a few shiploads of ticket-of-leave men, but the early colonies were founded by the Puritans, the Baptists, the Quakers, the French Huguenots, and other God-fearing people seeking the right to build their own churches and to worship God in accordance with the dictates of their own consciences.

It was the consuming desire—the passion for religious freedom, more than for political freedom that led to the colonization of that part of America which now dominates the continent—and who can doubt that this one fact explains the vigor and strength of the nation they founded?

With this idea of religious freedom, bred in the bone of the hardy pioneers, came the broad ideas of justice, fraternity and equality which inevitably led to the demand for national freedom. The colonial parsons, thundering from their pulpits, were the mainstay of the agitation which culminated in the Declaration of Independence, the American Revolution, and the birth of a new nation. To the Church, then, and its ideals, to the men and women fired with the zeal which the Church inspires, we are in large measure indebted for the colonization, and settling of our country and for the establishing of a system of just government among men.

And, in the next century, when the nation was to be born anew; when in a baptism of blood the great question of human freedom was to be settled forever, it was the pulpit that cried, in season and out of season, against the black crime of human slavery. Without the quickening of conscience, without the appeal to mankind's sense of right and justice which came like the thunders of Sinai from the pulpits of American churches, the abolition of slavery on

this continent would have been impossible. It was the Church and its God-fearing membership that saved the nation.

To the Church we are largely indebted for the American educational system. It was the ministers of the gospel, the preachers, who founded and directed the early years of almost every college of note in this country. In recent years the states have founded state universities and established schools of various sorts, but for generations, all the institutions of higher learning in America were in the care of the Church and almost entirely supported by church funds.

Take away what the Church has contributed to education, to literature, and to general culture in America, and we would be an ignorant, boorish, half-educated people.

Indeed, if the Church had done nothing else for America, than to keep alive that wonderful piece of literature, so rich in history, philosophy, poetry and drama, that sacred book we call the Bible—had the Church contributed nothing to our moral welfare or our spiritual life—it still would be worth while, if it gave us this wonderful book.

Let us add, too, that there was never a time when our boys and girls so needed the old-fashioned molding of character, only attained thru religious training, as they need it today amid the distractions and temptations of modern life. Years ago when the religious world was split up into narrow creeds, the five minutes of Bible reading and morning prayer was discontinued in the public schools thru a mistaken zeal for religious freedom. For generations, the world's thinkers and writers have declared the Bible to be humanity's greatest source of inspiration and power. The one book which has had the greatest and the most ennobling influence on the world ought not to be longer barred from the public schools, one of its most potent and most important fields of usefulness.

But, my friends, the Church lives not as a political factor—tho it has been most potent in shaping our political

existence; not as an educational nor as a cultural institution—tho we owe to it the most of our culture; not merely as the arbiter of morals and ethics—tho we draw all our ethical ideas from it. The Church lives and grows only because it is, and when it is, a vital part of the spiritual life of the 100 million men and women who make up this nation.

It is only when the Church brings to the individual a full, spiritual life that it is able to perform its true function in society and in the nation. The Church has but one mission—and that is to bring the love of the Lord Jesus Christ—His regenerating salvation—into the hearts of men and women. All other things which flow from the Church are side-issues—by-products.

I am not afraid of the Church in politics—indeed, I think the Church is derelict in its duty when it does not speak plainly, strongly, emphatically, on every great moral question which enters into our political life.

The Church perhaps has no place in what we ordinarily call “partisan politics,” but more and more are political issues becoming moral issues and we must look to the Church and its leaders—if they are in truth “leaders of men”—not only to fire men’s souls with zeal for righteousness in the abstract, but to stand like adamant for specific, definite measures that tend to righteousness and faithful, earnest, patriotic service in public affairs.

The Church must not falter here.

I am convinced that we are on the eve of a great battle in behalf of higher ideals and higher standards in our business life and especially in our political life. I have just returned from a conference in Boston where I met the governors of thirty-eight states. Nothing impressed me more than the interest manifested, not only by these governors gathered from all parts of the Union, but by the

people of the entire East, in the question of the prohibition of the liquor traffic.

They want to know about it.

In the past, many good men have honestly and sincerely doubted the possibility, or at least the practicability of prohibition. But, their eyes are being opened. Despite the systematic campaign of misrepresentation, kept up by the liquor interests, the fair-minded people of America are learning that prohibition not only is within the range of possibilities, but that it is an actuality that prohibition does exist in Kansas and that it does prohibit! They are intensely interested when I tell them that there are a half-million young people in this state who never have seen an open saloon—and they say “What Kansas can do, we can do!”

National prohibition is coming, my friends; nothing can stop it, if the Church and the good men and women who make up its membership, determine that it shall come—and are not afraid to do their duty.

And that other great scourge of human life, the twin evil that has blackened the pages of history and afflicted the world since time began—the White Slave traffic. It is as surely doomed—if the decent people of America have faith in the ultimate triumph of good.

The change in the attitude of the general public on this question within the last five years has been marvelous. Public officials entrusted with the enforcement of law, no longer laugh away protests at the law's violation. They no longer attempt to defend the black infamy of segregating these plague spots and these wretched victims of man's lust for the purpose of levying tribute upon them. They are feeling the pressure of public opinion and in almost every city in the Union they are making at least a pretense of the enforcement of law and the maintenance of decency.

When a gangrenous spot is discovered on the human body, safety from further infection and death is found in thoroly cleansing and disinfecting the lesion. To neg-

lect this living death, to tolerate it, to hide it from healing influences, is to invite the entire destruction of the body by the most fearful and loathsome form of disease.

It is equally true that the community which has become diseased, which tolerates political corruption, which enters into partnership with illicit vice or which winks at violation of law in any form is as surely rotting alive as the moribund human being whose powers of resistance have surrendered to bodily corruption.

The time is ripe for the eradication of public vice and it will be eradicated if the decent men and women of America once attack it in earnest. The Church can solve this ancient problem of the social evil, and will solve it, just as soon as it burns into the hearts and into the consciences of men the great fact that there can be no double standard of morality—that the man who breaks the divine commandment is as impure, is as degraded, physically, morally, spiritually, as the woman.

When men and women look upon the libertine with the same disgust they have for the scarlet woman; when society and the Church accord the same even-handed justice to both sinners—the problem of the social evil will be solved—and not until then!

I feel, too, my friends, that the Church in America has a great duty to perform and a great opportunity in connection with the war which is now devastating so large a part of the civilized world. Horror has been piled upon horror until the human mind is unable to grasp the awfulness of what is happening.

We had lulled ourselves with the thought that another great war never could occur between Christian nations. We had hoped and dreamed that the followers of the Prince of Peace never again would take up the sword against their brothers. And yet we find the leading nations of the world, the highest exponents of the Christian religion, flying at each other's throats with prayers upon their lips. We see hatred filling the hearts of Christian

peoples; we see savagery and cruelty not surpassed by the barbarians. God in His wise providence, has so far enabled us to escape this almost world-wide cataclysm.

Would we be more patient if put to the test?

The spirit of "jingoism"; the carrying of a chip on the shoulder; the tendency to hot-headed impetuosity; racial hatred, and that greed which leads men to over-reach, to take by might whatever they can—all of these tendencies still exist in too many American hearts. I need not say to you that no one of them is compatible with the Christian spirit or with the teachings of Christ.

I shall not say that war always has been avoidable in the past—I shall waive that point—but I do say that if the Church of the Living God does its duty, from this day forth, war will not only be avoidable, but it will be impossible.

War in the past may have been in some notable cases, unavoidable, but war today is unnecessary, and if the professed Christians of the world will stand steadfast in their adherence to the ideal of Universal Peace, there will be no more war.

In the last decade there has been a great awakening of the American conscience in everything affecting the public welfare and the public policies.

Yet it has been with great difficulty and often in the face of the bitterest opposition that we have written upon the statute books laws for ameliorating the condition of the unfortunate; laws for establishing greater justice between men; laws for protecting the weak from the greedy and powerful.

I believe genuine advance has been made. We have accomplished much. But, my friends, what we have done is only a mere beginning. There still are evils and injustices "ancient as the sun," which we should not and must not countenance in a Christian nation.

What are we going to do about them?

Are we going to rest satisfied with what we have ac-

complished? Are we going to allow this little spasm of reform to pass? Are we going to drop peacefully and carelessly back into our old ways, or are we going forward with a stout heart to meet the new problems that every day brings forth, trusting to God to give us the strength, the wisdom, the steady, unflagging purpose necessary to solve them?

Are we going to do this—you and I and all of us?

The answer to this question depends very largely upon the Church. It is upon the minds and consciences of the people that government depends. If we have a righteous, God-fearing, intelligent people, who bring to their politics sober thought, who consider the moral and ethical sides of the problems with which they deal—we shall have righteous and just laws, and righteous and just government. But if our people have low moral standards, if they accustom themselves to thinking that public office is an opportunity for graft, if they look at public questions solely from the viewpoint of their personal advantage or profit, or from a narrow partisan viewpoint, we shall always have a slack, inefficient, extravagant administration of public affairs.

I believe in the American Republic; I believe in our form of government. It is not perfect—it is not a sacred, nor a finished product—but I am strong in the faith that it is the best form of government on God's beautiful earth today. But, admirable as it is, it depends—absolutely depends—upon honest men and women, sober-thinking, fearless, determined men and women, who are willing, if need be, to make personal sacrifices for the general good.

I believe in the patriotism of the American people; an honest appeal to the love of country brings a quick response from every true American. I love our flag, our beautiful symbol of nationality, which never yet has been unfurled in a dishonorable cause, and which never has been furled

in disgrace; and I know that that flag is an inspiration to millions of patriotic citizens.

But—my friends—the ultimate triumph of the American ideal—the attainment of equal justice and opportunity for all our people—the giving of a full chance to the humblest citizen, must spring from something deeper even than the noblest patriotism; it must come from something more sacred even than our love for the flag that symbolizes our national honor.

It can come only from a deep and inherent love of righteousness—the broad, all-comprehending righteousness embodied in the gospel of Christ, the righteousness for which the Church of God stands.

We cannot have a righteous nation—and that, my friends, despite the sneers of the materialists, is the American ideal—we cannot have a righteous nation until we have a righteous people, and we shall have a righteous people only when the Church lives up to its full opportunity and performs its full duty.

God grant that this Church and the Church as a whole, may hasten the day.

My heartfelt prayer is that this campaign for rekindling and spreading the fires of Methodism in Atchison by the erection of a fine new church edifice will be accompanied by abundant divine blessing and meet with unprecedented victory.

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP.

From an Address at Horton M. E. Church, October 7, 1917.

My friends, let me give you a little picture of real Kansas prosperity as I saw it last Sunday morning in Topeka. I saw four little folks with shining faces, eyes and minds alert, neatly and sensibly dressed—the oldest not more than 7—board a street car by themselves on their way to

Sunday school. They were a jolly and happy little party, four better-conditioned children could not be found anywhere. Their parents evidently were churchgoers who had lived their religion—and whom religious faith and sensible living had prospered richly. All these things were plainly to be seen in these children, sensibly, comfortably, simply and pleasingly dressed, wanting for nothing, and traveling along the same road of right living, stable character and sturdy principles that their parents had traveled before them. This is real success in life. There is no higher prosperity, no happier, none more lasting. Best of all, we know that in Kansas the saloon cannot get these children.

I should like to see in the American home and especially in every Kansas home a revival of the old-time household religion, the short family service of prayer, the invocation of the divine blessing at the family board. These simple and solemn observances of the old-fashioned American home were and are the cornerstones of Christian citizenship—and a citizenship that above all things wishes to be right in our mightiest defense against every evil. These brief and simple observances of religion in every-day life have far-reaching power. Two or three times in every day they remind everyone of the higher life of the spirit, they steady the young people and strengthen them in purpose and in character. They make their elders better and nobler men and women, and life happier, more wholesome, more really prosperous and sane.

But lest some of you be discouraged at what you see around you, or possibly by what you don't see, let me tell you that Christian citizenship is looking up in this country. It was never more manifest in our beloved land than it is today, nor more aggressive. It is greater and more prevalent than you think. It is leavening the lump, even in the great cities. Its spirit is the dominating, the compelling, the all-conquering spirit of Kansas and America. And it is marching on. It is moving state and nation with

increasing and irresistible power toward state and national welfare and progress.

It is insisting that drink and prostitution, the great twin scourges of humanity, shall not be permitted to ruin America.

It is urging living wages, wholesome homes and happy family life for all its workers.

It is demanding and gradually obtaining a schooling for boys and girls that annually will not turn great masses of them adrift without knowledge that will make them capable and self-supporting.

It is insisting on prompt and ready justice for the poor litigant and the rich litigant.

It is compelling the honest, efficient and economical expenditure of public funds for the benefit of all the people, and it is demanding that its public servants shall know their work and do it faithfully, loyally, industriously and well, while serving one and only one master.

A SOCIAL SERVICE PROGRAM.

From an Address to the Kansas City, Kan., Council of Clubs, April 6, 1917.

I want first to congratulate your Council of Clubs on its splendid work in behalf of civic righteousness and a cleaner city. To me it is a most significant fact that one of the most powerful factors in modern democratic government which sets human beings above material things, has been the woman's clubs. I rejoice that in Kansas City, the Council of Clubs is throwing its forces with greater zeal than ever before, behind those constructive measures which make for the best in home and civic betterment; for the best in social, moral and educational uplift; for all the influences which are active in the building of manly boys,

of womanly girls, of clean and useful men and women, and which are doing their full share in the solution of the great human interest questions that will make the world better and happier and stimulate a richer and more abundant life.

I am happy to know that the people of Kansas City are rapidly being educated in the functions of social control, in the meaning of social conditions, in preventing the unnecessary waste of human life, in the effect on the community of neglected children and untrained youth, in the need of civic improvement generally, and we have the best reason to be thankful that this education is going on, for these problems of government never can be humanly solved until they become the problems of the intelligence and morality of all the people.

We have reason, too, to feel encouraged that gradually we are getting away from the ancient notion that the chief object of government is to wage war, to enact laws, to place men in office, and to hand out contracts to favorites. A higher conception of the governmental function is being evolved. Gradually the idea is taking root that the principal purpose of government is the fostering and preservation of comfortable and happy homes for all the people. The meaning of this is that conditions shall be so shaped as to afford persevering individuals the opportunity to establish themselves in business, to enjoy the fruits of their labor, to be equal beneficiaries of whatsoever can be brought about thru instrumentalities affecting the well-being of the great body of the people.

The records of the state health department at Topeka show that of the 2,102 children born in Kansas City last year, 216 died under 1 year of age. I am informed by Dr. Crumbine that at least 125 of these 216 children would be living now had we as individuals and as a community, applied those measures of hygiene and sanitation which are known to be available.

A little more than one out of every ten infant children in Kansas City die before they reach the end of their first

year. It is a regrettable fact that the percentage of these deaths, according to the official records, is larger in Kansas City than in any other city in the state.

Experts in the diseases of children are unanimous in the opinion that 60 per cent of the children that die under 1 year of age, die from preventable causes, which so far as possible it is the duty of the city and state to remove.

We need purer food, better milk and an agitation for cleaner stores. Already there has been much good work done in Kansas City in cleaning up the groceries, the meat markets, the restaurants, the milk depots and the fruit and candy stands, but I am told there is need of more such work in this city and probably in every city in Kansas.

We should not fail to give most serious consideration to that unnecessary death roll, in cities like this, of babies whose parents receive the lowest wage, live in the poorest fashion, and are the most neglected by the communities of which they are too helpless to be a conscious part.

Public sentiment must be aroused to the need of greater cleanliness and more decent and wholesome conditions in the poorer districts. The clean-up of bad homes, and of unsanitary and injurious environments, should form the ground work of much future child protection effort. Kansas City is one of the best and cleanest cities in the Middle West, but I am informed by your police officers that they can take me to several hundred houses in Kansas City that are filthy, unsanitary, uncomfortable, and not fit to be inhabited by human beings. I am told that in many instances they are owned by big corporations or by persons of wealth who seem to be interested only in the profit of 8 or 10 per cent that they gather in this way year after year, and give not a thought to what they return to the welfare of the women and children who call these miserable shanties their homes. Many a case of typhoid fever, of diphtheria and other serious diseases has spread from the imperfect sanitary conditions in and about these houses. It may be that it is because of a yard undrained, a soil

laden with impurities; outbuildings shockingly unprotected and a menace to morals and health, floors covered with rotting planks, windows loosely hung, bad plumbing, plaster gone or wall paper mildewed; at any rate, public sentiment needs to be aroused to these evils if we are to obtain cleanliness and decent conditions.

I believe there is a great opportunity for the Council of Clubs if all its members will use their influence in every possible way to make sure that no child in Kansas City—no matter how humble his parents—is denied the opportunity to obtain a complete common school education—an education and a training that will equip the boy or the girl to meet and conquer life's difficulties. I am informed by Miss Bresette, state factory inspector and secretary of the Industrial Welfare commission, that an average of three children a day are quitting school in Kansas City and going to work without adequate school preparation. Miss Bresette tells me that a few weeks ago she interviewed the young women employed in one of your large packing houses and found that 125 out of 225 virtually had no education. Many of these girls cannot write their own names. This is no fault of the school authorities. In some instances the parents of these children do not appreciate the need of an education for their children, but in a majority of cases they are from the families of poor people who have come here from Europe within the last year or two, and the parents actually need the wages of the children to provide food and clothing for the family.

Under our law, children can leave school after their 15th year, even tho they have not gone thru the grades. Undoubtedly conditions could be greatly improved in a city like yours if we could have a law in this state providing for the supervision of employment of boys and girls, under the direction of the school authorities, and requiring stricter educational qualifications in addition to the age qualifications we now have. Under this arrangement employers would not hire boys or girls without consulting

the superintendent of schools, who would have authority to say whether the pupil had been in school long enough and whether he was in other respects worthy of employment. The young people would then make a greater effort to qualify themselves.

I am glad to say that the mothers' compensation act, popularly known as the mothers' pension law, is being more conscientiously observed in Kansas City than in any other city in the state. Wyandotte has paid out more money under this law than any other county in Kansas.

If I have one particular hobby, it is flower growing and back-lot gardening by the boys and girls of Kansas. I hope the time will come when every child in every city of Kansas will have some part in the great work of making their home town more beautiful.

Flower growing by the children will help not only to make Kansas City a more beautiful city, but will awaken and stimulate in them a love for the beautiful in nature. Unconsciously the boy or girl sees in the violet the touch of the hand of God. Every successful attempt to adorn a city lot or a city park has a far-reaching influence upon the community. For children the growth of a flower is like the discovery of a new world. For them flower growing has a spiritual value that goes to the very roots of that inner life which is our best shield against evil influences. A happy sense of ownership is developed in the children. It is gratifying to them to see the flower bed developed into a blaze of beauty, as if the result of their own workmanship, and the child never after wholly gets away from this divine influence.

Think how a dozen stately hollyhocks or a half-dozen climbing roses in every back yard would add to the beauty of Kansas City this summer!

Seven years ago I started in Topeka what was known as the Daily Capital Juvenile Flower Club. Since then we have given away at our office more than 100,000 packages of flower seeds. Last April more than 3,000 boys and girls

called at the Daily Capital office and were enrolled as members of our club. Each child is given printed suggestions for successful flower culture. We required a pledge that they would plant the five packages of flower seeds which we gave them, care for them thru the summer months and take at least two bouquets to sick persons in hospitals or private homes.

Which summer school will most probably lead a boy in the paths in which he should walk—for his good and ours—the school of idleness on the streets, among the dirt and filth of the alleys, or inspiring, helpful, elevating work in a flower garden at his home?

More than 10,000 school children in this city remain at home during the summer vacation without any useful, healthful, productive occupation requiring any large part of their time. On the other hand, there is much valuable land in back yards and vacant lots that is serving no useful purpose. The object is to bring this land and these children together, and you and I should help bring this about. It is difficult to estimate the far-reaching results of this plan when it shall be put in full operation thruout a city. For the children it will mean health, strength, joy in work, habits of industry, and understanding of the value of money as measured in terms of labor, and such knowledge of the phenomena and forces of nature as must be had for an understanding of many of their school lessons. They will also learn something at least, of the fundamental principles of thrift and industry—that each individual must make his or her own living; must, by some kind of labor of head, hand or heart, contribute to the commonwealth as much as he takes from it; must pay for what he gets in some kind of coin.

Another phase of the problem of humanity right here in Kansas City and in Kansas, and one that has made a deep impression upon me because at times it is the most serious of all, is the problem of unemployment. You may be inclined to doubt that there are worthy, industrious men out

of employment and on the verge of starvation. But you do not know the conditions. There has scarcely been a day in the last year that I have not had calls from able-bodied men and women eager for employment, ready to accept any kind of honorable work because they have families actually in need of food and clothing. Neither is it any uncommon thing for young girls, often without a friend or relative in the city, new to the game of finding work, thrown on their own resources to find a livelihood where and how they can, to come to my office pleading for work of any kind that will enable them to meet expenses of rent and board at some cheap rooming house. These conditions exist also in Kansas City and all the larger cities.

I think we should have as a part of our scheme of city government in every city of 50,000 or more, a public welfare bureau supported by funds from the city treasury. Such a bureau really would prove an investment, or at least an economy rather than an expense. Its duty would be to see that disease-breeding, unsanitary tenements were transformed into livable habitations, to find help or employment for the needy, to clean up vice conditions and especially to look after and combine those social and civic betterments now dependent on charity, or left at loose ends, which when neglected constitute one of the greatest causes of disease, poverty, vice and even crime in every city and that in one way or another combine to make one of the greatest items of public expense in every urban community.

I say that every honest, industrious man and woman has a right to demand of society a chance to work—a chance to earn good food, decent clothing, a comfortable home and an education for their children. Society cannot in safety turn a deaf ear to that demand. It is one of the problems too long neglected, a problem that must be solved promptly and along constructive and practical lines.

And while I am before you, permit me to emphasize a crying need, in Topeka, in Kansas City, as well as in other Kansas cities and perhaps every county in Kansas, for

what, lacking a better name, I shall call a detention home. We should have a better place than a jail and its society of depraved and hardened criminals in which to place deserted, abandoned, unfortunate girls and women. Our jails, the best of them, are hotbeds of vice, crime and disease. We should also have separate detention homes for boys and girls—the homeless waifs, the wandering little vagrants, the numerous juvenile offenders, the boys and girls who for perhaps the first and last time in their lives have stumbled or been misled into some offense, while we take measures to restore them to friends and family, or to find them appropriate care and training in our state institutions.

And is it such a light thing to attach the stigma of “jail-bird” for life to some child that really hasn’t been wicked? It seems to me this is urgent, that we cannot with good grace continue to send missionaries to the heathen while as a civilized people we permit our present jail methods with respect to women and children to continue.

Another reform in which I hope the women of Kansas City will show an active interest, has for its object greater justice in the state’s treatment of the families of persons convicted of crime. Crime must be punished; men who are a menace to society must be incarcerated, and it is just and right that while incarcerated, they be made to labor, but to my mind it is barbarous and inhuman for the state to profit from their labor so long as the criminal’s family needs support. As it is now, helpless women and innocent children are often left to fight life’s battle alone, to struggle and to suffer hardships as great or even greater than those imposed upon the criminal himself.

I believe that every convict in our state’s prison should be given employment at public work, and that a large part of his earnings, other than that expended by the state for his support, should be turned over to the innocent women and children who are dependent upon him for their sustenance. Neither have I any sympathy with a prison pol-

icy which makes confirmed criminals out of men and boys who are not beyond redemption. As long as there is a chance to make a good citizen of a human who is struggling to regain his place in society, it is our duty to try to help him up instead of pushing him down and holding him down.

Our present system of punishment for criminals is barbarous. I am more and more strongly of the opinion it must be our policy that prisoners be taken away from high walls and put upon the land. God's out-of-doors should take the place of the dark dungeon. Road building and farm work are better adapted to corrective character building than the dark prison cell.

Also it is to my mind a travesty of justice when a judge imposes a fine on an outcast woman who, because she is an outcast, has no means of support open to her but to return to her dreaded life. It is absolutely true that redemption is impossible for such women under present conditions. Unaided they are helpless and we now have no place to shelter and protect them until they may face life anew under fairer auspices; we actually force them to go to perdition. The Girls' Industrial School at Beloit cannot take delinquent women offenders that are over 18 years old. I wish that every such woman might be committed to an institution that would give her this one chance to reform, that at least the first commitment might be to an Industrial Home or Reformatory where she would get training that would make it possible for her to earn an honest living. A little thinking will convince us that we can better afford to do something of this kind than not to, no matter from what viewpoint we look at it.

In considering all these great problems of city building let us ever keep in mind that social service should be distinguished from mere charity and rescue work. It differs from charitable work in this, that instead of doling out soup and old clothes, it helps people to help themselves by keeping well, by keeping clean and at work. From rescue

work it differs in this, that it is a method of prevention rather than a cure. It builds a wall at the top of the precipice rather than maintains a hospital at the bottom; it argues that it is more desirable to save girls before they go wrong than to establish a rescue home in the red-light district.

I know that you stand for all these things I have mentioned, and that it takes some courage to stand for them. In every community, they who fight for cleaner, healthier, more decent and more efficient conditions of life have always been denounced by those who are afraid that a better protection of human life, or an attempt to make social conditions more wholesome, would injure either their purses or the town's treasured traditional reputation. But you ladies know, of course, that you can't clean house by hiding the dirt, and he who would attempt to hide the faults of his town rather than correct them is a false friend to the community.

For more than two generations—nearly half the lifetime of our nation—the people of Kansas have been leaders in all humane, reformatory and progressive movements; and much of the advance which Kansas and the nation have made is due to the intelligent effort and the high-minded devotion of the big-hearted women of the state. And I am happy in the hope and in the belief that this influence is to grow and extend. Woman is making her influence for good felt in our legislative halls today as never before. Every humanitarian project is benefited by her active participation in civic affairs. All the commendable movements for ameliorating the conditions under which the race lives; the right of the new-born babe to a fair start in life; justice to women and girls in industry; reformatory measures for the weak of all classes; nation-wide prohibition; equal suffrage for the women of the whole nation; pensions to worthy mothers for care and support of minor children; humane and temperance education—all these have the earnest support of the intelligent women of this

state and are being forced upon our law-makers with an insistence which will take no denial. With her truer instinct and bigger heart, woman is quick to see injustice, and prompt to demand its righting. Kansas, the geographical center of the nation; Kansas, blest beyond measure by the Giver of all good; Kansas, with its intelligent, happy and aspiring people, must in the future as it has in the past do its full share in meeting social, economic and political problems; in establishing greater justice; in abolishing inequalities; and Kansas is thrice blessed in having for this work as part and parcel of her citizenship noble-hearted, high-minded women so intensely concerned in the public weal.

So I appeal to you to encourage and promote the doctrine of helpfulness. Let's take a still deeper interest in the cause of the less fortunate, the struggling, the oppressed, the down-and-out; encourage and help those who are trying to better conditions, and make them feel and know that our schools, our churches, our women's clubs, our newspapers, are human institutions, that the great democratic spirit of brotherhood is here, in fact, in Kansas.

LINCOLN AND HUMAN WELFARE.

*From an Address to the Topeka Industrial Council, on
Lincoln Day, Topeka, February 12, 1918.*

One hundred and nine years ago today in a rude cabin in Kentucky, in what was then the very outskirts of civilization, there was born to two plain, humble and I suspect unambitious, common folk, a male child.

The gods play strange tricks with the set notions of men. We give place and honor and favor to those we consider the mighty of Earth—and then out of nowhere—out of

the desert—from the waste places—unheralded and unsung, there springs a mightier than them all.

Moses, child of a slave woman, was drawn from the bulrushes to lead the children of Israel to the Promised Land.

David, the little shepherd lad from the hills, unskilled in the arts of war, and shy and backward before the swaggering, boastful troopers, put the arrogant Philistines to flight.

The little son of Joseph, the humble carpenter of Nazareth, confounded the wisdom of the learned doctors and gave mankind the way of salvation.

And so it was with Abraham Lincoln. In parentage, in environment, in education—or at least in schooling—he was the last man whom the worldly wise would choose as the saviour of a nation; the last man to whose hands we would trust the helm of the ship of state in times so trying and amid dangers so terrifying. The so-called “better element” of the nation, the wealth, the culture—they who so calmly assume an air of superiority to the common herd—could not understand the folly of the people manifested in their blind enthusiasm for a “back-woodsman,” “an uncouth village politician.” And yet the people swept aside a Seward, a Chase, a Douglas, a Breckinridge—all men of “antecedents,” men of “position,” of experience and training, “safe and sane” men—that they might place the fate of the nation in the hands of an ungainly country lawyer from Sangamon county.

And it was more than the fate of a nation that Abraham Lincoln held in his hands during the dark days of the '60's. It was the fate of Democracy. Popular government was on trial. More was involved than the division of this country into two republics. More was involved than the freedom of the black man. Human liberty was at stake. Serfdom knows no race nor color. It rests on might. It was but a step from the enslaving of the African to the bondage of the poor white—indeed, the most radical supporters of the institution did not hesitate to proclaim the dogma “that

slavery is right in principle, and has nothing to do with difference of complexion." The final issue was the momentous question of self-government. Deep in my heart I believe that Abraham Lincoln was just as surely raised by the hand of Providence to preserve this nation and to perpetuate a free government as that Moses was called by God to lead his people out of the house of bondage. We can account for Lincoln—we can explain Lincoln—only by admitting that he was a man sent of God!

His calm, impartial, judicial temperament; his infinite patience; his kindliness; his compassion; his utter lack of egotism and self-assertion; his unselfishness; his supreme and sublime faith in the right-mindedness of the people and in the justice of their final judgments—these were the special endowments, the gifts from Heaven, which fitted him for the gigantic burdens laid upon his shoulders.

The world owes much to Lincoln; but in my opinion, all that he accomplished, all that he gave to struggling humanity, sprang from his deep-rooted belief in the common people; his faith in the ability of men to govern themselves; and his passionate devotion to the cause of justice and fair-dealing between men.

Today we do honor to the name and the memory of the man who with God-like patience, stood calm and unmoved amid storms of abuse and vilification, and with firmness in the right, saved a great nation from anarchy, liberated a race of human beings and established forever the principle of government of the people, for the people, by the people.

But the tribute we pay to that great soul is meaningless lip-service, is cant and hypocrisy, unless we renew our faith in the fundamental principles of democracy for which Lincoln stood—our faith, not only in the rights of the people, but in the ability of the people to see and to know and to do the right.

And that, my friends, is the most difficult thing in the world, for the average man to acquire—faith in the good

sense, the honesty and the ability of the common people. Let a man fall heir to a few thousand dollars; let a sudden growth of the town enhance his little property ten-fold; let him make a lucky speculation; and he immediately begins to think that he is made of finer clay than his less fortunate neighbors, and really believes that he deserves special privilege and better treatment at the hands of an admiring world. He begins to talk about "the hoi-polloi" and "the working classes." He will tell you that a man gets in this world all that he deserves and that the common people have more rights than are good for them. And he is always particularly indignant because "it's getting so a man can't run his own business without interference from meddlesome, busy-body demagogues in the legislature and outrageous dictation from tyrannical labor unions." And it's surprising how few dollars difference it takes, sometimes, to bring about this change in attitude.

Well, Abraham Lincoln never acquired that state of mind. More and more he trusted the great heart of the people—and especially "the common people." The opposition to him, the vilification and abuse heaped upon him, came for the most part from those who held themselves to be greatly his superior in intellect and social position. The common people trusted him as he trusted them.

And this question of the common sense of the common people, is in reality, at the bottom of the awful war into which German autocracy has plunged the world. It is not altogether greed and lust of power that actuate the German junkers. Along with their ravenous disposition to get and to hold, goes a supercilious vanity which regards the common herd as so many swine—the scum of the earth, whose lack of intellect and culture makes them unfit to be other than hewers of wood and drawers of water. They are no better than the beasts of the field and they deserve no better treatment.

This is the one great issue involved in this horrible war. Shall the human race work out its own salvation with lib-

erty of conscience and freedom of action, or shall it be swept back into a serfdom, debasing, degrading, and stifling to a aspiration? Shall the human family govern itself, or shall it be ruled by a merciless, cruel autocracy which despises man and laughs at the Almighty? Shall man go forward to his destiny, a free creature, or shall he become a victim and tool of a horrible Super-man, inhuman in his cruelty, vanity and greed?

There is but one answer for Americans. We would be unworthy to call ourselves countrymen of Lincoln, unworthy to stand uncovered before that statue we unveiled today, if our answer had been other than that which we have given. We believe in democracy; believe in it with a faith that stakes our lives, our treasure and our very existence as a nation upon its ultimate triumph thruout the world. And we are willing to sacrifice, and sacrifice, and sacrifice again, to stay the imperious hands that would destroy it.

The problems of civilization are unending. No sooner is one solved than a dozen new ones, more complex and intricate, confront us. The civilized world, five short years ago, fattening in materialistic security, thought that democracy was in the ascendancy. We talked of "the brotherhood of man," little dreaming that a foe as merciless as Satan himself was planning and scheming and intriguing, by fair means and foul, to seize the world in a mad-man's grasp and throttle the aspirations of the human race. There is no folly so great as to think, as a type of mind does think, that all our problems are settled, that all we have to do now is to let things work themselves out automatically. No problems are ever "settled." No achievement, personal or collective, is ever final. Every piece of work done, every new political institution, every social or moral reform achieved, is simply a vantage point for the accomplishment of something greater and nobler.

"Civilization is a moving tide." It is a joyous journey if we undertake it in the spirit of the "glorious com-

pany'' of those who have made the world what it is today. To be afraid of the present or the future is cowardice. Not to go forward is no better than to turn our backs and run. It is still true, as it was stated to be in the parable of the Great Teacher, that the reward for work well done is not ease and leisure, but the reward is more work, more responsibility. He that ruled one city successfully was in the parable given ten cities to rule over. And you and I are not true men and women if we do not see that this is after all and always the greatest, most blessed of all rewards.

And we in Kansas are just well started on the task of building a state. The history of the state has not yet spanned the life of the man who reaches the Biblical allotment of three score years and ten. The forces of good must be unrelenting, for, depend upon it, the forces of evil will not rest. The worst possible peril for the individual, the Church or the state is to be satisfied with work done, to feel that all the problems are solved. That is the greatest danger of all dangers. The times of real peril to a state and a nation never have been, as you and I very well know, the pioneering days, of fighting savage enemies, of grappling with the wilderness, the days of poverty. The real danger threatens when riches increase and our hearts become set upon them, when luxury comes to steal away our physical, mental and moral vigor and fibre.

So, even on the material side we have not arrived at a real solution of our problem. We have created enormous wealth in this country and we talk of prosperity. We talk sometimes as tho increasing wealth means decreasing poverty. No one knows better than you that it does not mean that in this country and it never has meant that in any country. The richest cities have, and always have had, the most dire and degrading poverty. It ought not to be so. Believing that every wrong has a remedy, I do not believe it is necessarily so, nor that it always will be so. I only say that it always has been so, is still so, and

that no political nor industrial economy founded upon anything but brotherhood, upon those Abraham Lincoln principles which draw men's hearts together, ever can solve this baffling difficulty.

There must be no backward step taken at this time. Laboring men and labor organizations are willing and must be willing to make sacrifices that we may win the war; but it is not necessary for labor to sacrifice principle any more than it is necessary for the Church to give up the eternal principles upon which it is founded. Labor is willing to do its part; but it will not agree that the war be made an excuse for the overturning and sweeping aside of what it has won by years of patient striving. It will not agree to the importation of coolie labor or cheap Porto Rican labor to displace American labor; it will not agree to the breaking of child-labor laws, of the eight-hour day laws, nor to the ignoring, in the alleged interest of speed and increased production, of any of the fundamental things that it has won for humanity.

I am not here to speak in a spirit of pessimism nor of fault-finding. I would not for one moment have you think that things are hopelessly wrong, despite the awful holocaust in which we are involved. Indeed, I am happy in the belief that the world really grows better from age to age. Otherwise, I should not have the faith and courage to face my little part in the battle against autocracy. I have the courage to help save the world, because the world is worth saving. Outside of junker-ridden Germany, the world is nearer the long-sought Brotherhood of Man than ever before. The hour of trial that has come to us—the testing fire thru which we are passing—has revealed our true selves to ourselves; and while there are those so craven as to be willing to fatten upon their country's necessity, men dominated by greed instead of conscience, the great

heart of America has beaten with patriotic fervor, and as a people we have said: "Here am I, what wilt thou have me do?"

The war already has brought home to us, as years of preaching and agitation could not have done, the great fundamental fact of the interdependence of all members of society. Stern necessity is making us realize what we individually owe to society as a whole. A young man shoulders a rifle and marches away to the trenches; not to win fame and glory; not for booty or loot, but because his country needs him and his service. We all recognize that call of duty. If it is imperative in time of war, is that duty of service to the common good less imperative in time of peace?

Society allows a man to occupy a piece of land—not primarily that he may grow rich from its products—but that he may serve society by helping to feed and clothe it. A man is allowed to operate a mine or an oil-field or a railway system, or a bank or a factory or a store or a newspaper, not necessarily to enable him to gouge the public, but to serve the public. A man learns a trade or goes out to do some useful work as a laborer, not merely to keep soul and body together, but to play the part of a man, to do his share of the world's work, to help make the world a better, a happier place in which to live.

The war, I say, is making us—some of us at least—to see this. We are learning that every man has his part to perform.

The man who wins battles in time of war, the man who preserves order in time of public excitement, the man who always marches in the vanguard of human progress, is the man in the ranks. He is the man the world needs. In every walk of life, it is the common man, the man of sense, judgment, principle, good moral fibre and physical stamina, that the world needs in every avenue of progress and achievement, and in every crisis. It is our great good for-

tune in America that he is not so uncommon nor so scarce, as are captains, colonels and generals as worthy as he is.

Nowadays we seem to be teaching and preaching and emphasizing everywhere, that it is the generals and the colonels that do all the fighting. Instead we ought to teach in every home and every school in the land, that however humble a man's station may be, if he does his duty faithfully, industriously and well in that place, he is as great a man and as worthy of the world's honor and respect as princes, kings or Presidents.

In the army of life, it is the men and women who do their daily tasks, be they great or small, without sniveling, without complaining that fate is hard upon them, without trying to jump into a high position before they are ready for it, or the call comes, who really keep the world moving forward in its course toward better things. It is they who are the backbone of the country. It is commendable to wish to get ahead in the world; to win positions of trust and confidence; to amount to something in life; but we must not forget that the world's work is really done by what we sometimes call the "common people." It is the rank and file that bear the brunt of the battle. All honor to them. We owe them much.

I should rather be a Kansas farmer raising wheat and corn and doing my part in feeding the world, than to be the richest grain gambler in Chicago, than the man who makes a million by putting up the price of bread to the city's poor. I should rather be the village blacksmith who knows how to put a good shoe on a farmer's horse than to be the munitions manufacturer who has grown rich on blood money. I should rather be a private in the ranks of life, an humble citizen with my family around my fireside, than a king of finance who gains his wealth and position by unscrupulous methods. I know there are rich men who are good men and true, but the mad desire for wealth, the increasing dissatisfaction with the simple life and with simple wholesome living, the desire to get rich quick, which

has been so prevalent in this country during the last twenty years, unless it is curbed will surely destroy the moral fiber of our people and bring this nation to ruin.

We need more men to volunteer as privates. There the real service and the real honor lie. Compared to it much, if not all else, is mere sham and glitter, flash and noise.

I believe in America. I believe in the ultimate triumph of right and justice. I believe in the ideals of the American people in whom Abraham Lincoln placed such great confidence. I believe in God's providence we are slowly, and oftentimes with faltering steps, but none the less surely, advancing toward the Brotherhood of Man. We do not always see things in the same light. We can't always agree as to ways and means, but I am happy in the belief that the conscience of the good people of America is more acute today than ever before in our history. I know we have high ideals and that as individuals we are more ready than ever before to make sacrifices for the common welfare; that slowly but surely we are coming a little nearer to the ideals of Him who gave His life for us. May God help us to do our part to maintain these ideals, to keep our hands clean, to set our faces toward the right, so to contribute our share toward the redemption of mankind, to bring it into the happiness and well-being of its divine inheritance.

FOR A BETTER RACE IN A BETTER WORLD.

*From an Address Delivered at Public Welfare Meeting,
Bonner Springs, Kan., October 17, 1915.*

The whole spirit of the advancing, helpful age in which we live is to save rather than to destroy, to redeem rather than to degrade. This crusade for clean and wholesome living is one of the most impelling movements of our day.

The welfare problem you are trying to solve can be solved

only thru education at home, at school, at church, thru such meetings as this. It is not simply a problem of today; it is a problem of every day. It will be with humanity so long as children are born and reared. For that reason the good citizen of the community must bear his share of the burdens of working out an effective method by which the successive generations of children shall be trained to a saner and happier living.

A worthless man is he who attends simply to his business and has no care for the public welfare. He does not rise above self-interest. He wants to get the most out of the community without giving anything in return. Hundreds of such men in Bonner Springs, as in every city, would be surprised and insulted if they heard themselves spoken of as not being good citizens, and yet they never help to right a wrong; so far as they are concerned the city may go into moral bankruptcy.

A LAW TO HELP MOTHERS.

From an Address Delivered at Westminster Congregational Church, Kansas City, Mo., December 2, 1917.

Probably the most truly helpful, the most wisely humane and philanthropic law we have in our Kansas statute book, is the new so-called mothers' pension act. What this mothers' compensation law is doing to give semi-orphaned children a home and a mother's care—defective as that law is in its present state—is illustrated by this extract from a letter I have received recently:

"I am writing to tell you," says this mother, "how much my sister and I appreciate our pensions. We now are receiving our \$10 a month. We each have two children. It was necessary for us to leave two of them in our father's home, that we might work and earn enough to

clothe and feed them and ourselves. The pension, however, is like so much manna from heaven as now we can have our babies at home with us. May God bless our state for passing a bill that will enable the mothers of Kansas to bring their children up under their own care and protection. My hope is that the new law may be a means of bringing forth a boyhood and a girlhood Kansas will be proud to own."

To cite another case: A widow with five children in Wyandotte county, was earning \$40 a month cleaning Pullman cars. To do this she was obliged to let the eldest girl, age 11 years, be the little mother of the family all day. This woman recently has been granted a widow's pension of \$10 a month. With this and the washings she has now found to do at home, she is enabled to support her family and give her children a mother's loving care and constant oversight. Those children and that home have been saved from inevitable shipwreck; that pitifully self-sacrificing, over-burdened little mother of 11 years will now know something of the joys of childhood; and the chances are 100 per cent better that the boys and girls in this family will become good citizens, instead of failures. They are not so likely to become a charge upon the county or the state far exceeding the expense of the county's present investment in their behalf.

The new Kansas law is assisting about sixty-five widows in this way in Wyandotte, our most populous county, one with eleven children. You can imagine what a godsend it must be to that mother of eleven and her brood.

Isn't this a far better, a far wiser, a far more economical and a much more humane way than parting mother and children to send them motherless to an orphanage, or than to let them run wild, with no parental care, possibly, if not probably, to become victims of neglect, inmates of prisons and a charge for life on the county or the state?

And are mothers to be considered as rendering no service

to the state in the upbringing and rearing of its future citizens? In fact, is there anything more important than the well-being of American homes?

SANITATION AS A FACTOR IN COMMUNITY UPLIFT.

*From an Address at Fredonia, Kan., on Sanitation Day,
October 5, 1915.*

If this is not a "momentous occasion"—the kind which orators are so fond of acclaiming—it is at least an unique event in the history of mankind. Certainly it is something new for the state of Kansas, and I suspect new to the nation. When before have the representatives of a national government, the representatives of a state, and the most representative citizens of a county gathered together to celebrate a general house-cleaning?

To be sure there have been in times past, jollifications and jubilees over a "clean-up" at election times. Whenever we have "turned the rascals out" we have celebrated with much red fire, and many loud whoops of joyful noise. The male portion of the population has always heaved a sigh of relief—and sometimes celebrated in other ways—when the annual or semi-annual spasm of house-cleaning has been completed in the individual domicile—but never before have I known of a whole county getting together to acclaim the glad fact that they have learned something about how to battle with dirt.

I congratulate the good people of Fredonia and Wilson county that this practical demonstration in the science of sanitation is given here. I don't know how it happens that Wilson county was selected, but from what I know of Wilson county folks, I am sure that no county in the United

States could have been found whose people are more alert, more ready to welcome new ideas and more keenly interested in all that makes for the betterment of general conditions.

We have reason to be proud of the place that Kansas has taken in the fight against preventable disease. The secretary of our state board of health is not only himself a figure of national importance and international reputation, but many of the reforms he has instituted, many of the precautionary measures he has promoted to safeguard the public health, have—after a period of opposition and sometimes of ridicule—been adopted by all of the more progressive states of the nation. Kansas has led the way in several health movements of vital importance.

It is difficult for us laymen to comprehend the appalling number of deaths due to causes absolutely preventable, and it is equally difficult for us—unless we have made a special study of the subject—to appreciate the strides that have been made in the prevention of disease by the science of sanitation—by striking at the roots; the removal of its cause and the prevention of its spread. It is to this work that the public health officials are directing their energies, and it is of this work that the Wilson county campaign is a demonstration.

Some sage—Mohammed if I remember—said “Cleanliness is next to Godliness.” I know I used to have to write it over and over again in my copy-book at school when I was about ten years old. I had to write it so many times that I began to hate the man who first said it. A wiser man—an American I think—amended the maxim: “Cleanliness is not next to Godliness; it is Godliness!” And if Godliness means right-living, the American amendment is right. Cleanliness is Godliness, and I hardly see how there can be Godliness without it. Filth of mind or body is sinful, and brings its punishment as certainly in one case as the other. There is no longer any room for argument about the cause—the source of the great majority of disease;

there is and I suppose always will be argument about the particular method of treatment that is most efficacious after disease once fastens itself upon the human system, but there can be little question about the method of preventing many of the diseases which lay such heavy toll upon our people. To shut our eyes to the facts which confront us; to refuse to take the precautionary measures which the occasion demands; to remain indifferent and negligent is criminal. It is the part of the good citizen not only to protect his own health, but to do everything possible to protect the health of his community. And it is the business of the state to see that the individual does this. This is the theory upon which all public health measures rest; it is the idea of society protecting itself against the ignorance, the carelessness, the indifference of the individual. The idea is fundamental and as old as human government: Nowhere do we find more sanitary measures than in the Mosaic law of the Old Testament, but in the modern application of it, it is new. The majority of us, unfamiliar with the new discoveries that science makes daily (often overturning and discarding the dead certainties of yesterday) do not always understand the necessity and importance of some of the rulings of the men to whom we entrust the health of our communities. Sometimes we are inclined to look upon them as fads, as arbitrary whims, as the queer quirks of cranky minds entrusted with a little authority. This attitude of the public mind—not altogether unnatural in all the circumstances, calls for two things:

First—education—explanation—enlightenment. Show the Kansas citizen why—and he is willing to comply. Fortunately this is being done. Dr. Crumbine and his enthusiastic staff are more concerned in educating the people of Kansas, in preaching the gospel of public health, than they are in bringing obstinate lawbreakers to punishment. They are a gospel army of preachers of the whys and wherefores. I sometimes think that if they had their way,

they would monopolize the entire state printing plant and run it overtime getting out literature showing us how to live so long that we'd make old Methuselah look like a new-born babe. And the national government, thru bulletins and lectures and surveys and demonstrations—thru just such work as has been done here in Wilson county—is carrying on the work of education and enlightenment. The purpose—and it will be accomplished—is to make the rules of safety and good health, the restrictions which now seem so obnoxious to some of us, second nature to the next generation.

The other thing which I think highly essential to progress and permanent success in public regulation, is the most careful avoidance on the part of public health officers of all bigotry, all fads, all untried experiments. One pig-headed theorist, one over-zealous enthusiast who lacks that saving sanity and tolerance which must accompany all work of this kind, can undo in a day the efforts of forty good men. We cannot afford to make mistakes. We cannot get too far ahead of public sentiment. We must educate as we regulate.

I am glad that this sanitary survey has been made in Kansas. It will be an object lesson that will not be lost upon the whole state. It is in line with the growing demand for consideration by the state of the interests of the people as a whole. It is in keeping with the best sentiment of our day which places the man above the dollar and human life above money.

A PLEA FOR WORLD PEACE.

From an Address at the Kansas Peace Conference, Representative Hall, Topeka, February 12, 1915.

We have gathered today under the shadow of the world's greatest tragedy. War is crucifying the noblest civilization of Europe and a blood lust stirs the world. Thru

long ages man has groped his way from darkest barbarism to light, but from civilization to barbarism is a single step downward. War, the destroyer, can undo the work of centuries in a day and plunge the world in woe.

We, in Kansas, far removed from this world-catastrophe, go about our peaceful pursuits with no true realization of the awful deluge of blood which has engulfed the greater part of civilization. Yet, we know something of war. Some of us have heard the barbaric yell of the savage. Many of us have felt the inhuman passion of fraternal strife; have heard the funeral roll of the drum which beats the soldier's last tattoo; have seen the slow march; have listened to that supremely mournful, grief-expressing last call—the bugles sounding taps.”

The cry of the war-stricken widow, the weeping of orphans, the heart-broken sobbing of bereaved mothers, is not unknown to us. We know the want, the woe, the misery, the desolation, that war brings in its train. Rapine and pillage, carnage and blood—we know; but we know them as words—mere words, while millions of our fellow beings know them today as unspeakable, crushing actualities which leave the survivor stunned, dazed, helpless, hopeless, to begin life anew in an unknown and utterly unfamiliar world.

We, the thrice-blest people of Kansas, cannot realize the awfulness of this world-wide war. We know it only by hearsay and from afar. But, we know if our Christian civilization is to endure, if the human race is not to retrograde to a state of savagery, if we are not to lose all that we have gained thru the slow centuries of progress, this war of 1914-15 must be the last war that arraigns the intelligence, the sanity, the humanity of mankind. War must cease. Its continuance is unthinkable. And, while none of us here plays a part in the counsels of the world which decree war, every one of us has a responsibility to God and man, which calls for a determined stand against the great iniquity. We can, as private individuals, do some-

thing to aid the great and holy movement for a permanent world-peace. God help us not only to see the right but to do our full duty at all times and in all places.

With few exceptions, the thinking men and women of the civilized world agree that war is a relic of barbarism which should be impossible as a policy of modern nations or in a Christian civilization. The cruelty of war; the wickedness of war; the economic waste of war; the absurdity of war, is universally admitted. But the world's statesmen, either obsessed by an ancient superstition or craftily wicked in the hope of some possible advantage to themselves or to their country, seem unable or unwilling to abolish the crude custom of the Dark Ages of settling disputes with fire and sword. They realize that they live today in a new world, a world transformed in the last one hundred years; a world knit together by the telegraph and the wireless; a world made one country by quick transportation facilities and world-wide commercial enterprises; a world physically re-created in a century by science, invention and commerce; and intellectually made over by the wide dissemination of intelligence and the inculcation of the spirit of liberty and brotherhood in the hearts of all men. They know that in every line of human endeavor the world has made progress, but they still insist in applying to international disputes a method employed by the savages of the Stone Age; they admit no progress; they accept no new ideals.

I am more and more convinced, my friends, that we cannot depend upon those in high places to relieve the world of this unspeakable woe. The rulers of the earth are blind worshipers of the past. Their places and their authority depend upon ancient traditions. We cannot expect them to set their faces toward the light. They are surrounded in most countries by a military caste that looks upon war as the end and aim of life and the glory of the soldier as the highest ideal of human existence. Around this caste of professional militarism is a large body of enterprising,

shrewd, and I fear, often unscrupulous commercial men who thrive and grow fat by providing the sinews of war. King, general, banker, cannon-maker—these men in high places, what else can we expect of them?

War will cease only when the people of the earth—the common people—determine in their hearts and minds that war shall be no more.

This reform, this great step in human progress, must first have its birth, its growth, its blossoming, its fruition in the hearts and minds of the people—such as have gathered here today. War will cease when the men and the women of the world who bear the brunt of war, who shed their blood, who pay the taxes, who send their sons to the battlefields, say that war shall be no more.

And, it is to further that demand that we have come here today—to do our part in creating and enlisting public opinion in this country—to do our part in extending the peace sentiment thruout the world.

Our national body politic rests upon the idea that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. My friends, this is true, not only in America, but thruout the world. The most autocratic government that ever existed derived its powers, just or unjust, from the willing or unwilling consent of the people. And so war exists by the consent of the common people. Grudgingly and unwillingly men give their consent, after being appealed to by false patriotism, by the glamour of a sham glory, by coercion and fraud, but none the less with the consent of the people. No war can be waged successfully without the support of public opinion, and upon us who abhor and clearly and dispassionately see the uselessness, the horror and violence of this bloodshed, rests the responsibility of bringing the world to see the absurdity and wickedness of modern warfare.

I do not imagine that we people of Kansas shall be able to set the thrones of Europe quaking. I do not imagine that the military caste, so strong in almost every modern

nation, will give much heed to what we say and do here today. I presume many persons will sweep aside our deliberations with the one word "Sentimentalism." But firm in the belief of the righteousness of this cause; strong in the faith that right is right so long as God is in His Heaven, I know that every effort we make to bring about that "Peace on earth and good will toward men" proclaimed by the angelic hosts two thousand years ago will, like the soul of John Brown, go marching on to a bloodless and a glorious victory.

We have not met here as sentimentalists. If there were in our hearts not the least compassion, if we did not look with horror upon the shedding of human blood, if we had no regard for the loss of strong young men, if we did not feel the heart-break of mothers and wives, we, still, from a purely economic, dollars-and-cents point of view would protest against a continuance of this world-old folly.

Putting the question on its very lowest basis, looking at it from a purely material point of view, war accomplishes nothing which could not be accomplished in a sane and Christian manner, and its cost in dollars and cents is far beyond all compensation. The nations of Europe are expending a million dollars every thirty minutes. They are slaughtering human beings at the rate of a million men a year; they are wiping out the production of centuries of progress, entailing a loss upon the world which no gain of territory can ever replace. Our protest is not sentimental, altho we thank God that we are moved by human suffering and by waste of human life.

This meeting has been called merely that the good people of Kansas might have opportunity for registering their protest against the lapse into barbarism which will for all time disgrace the Twentieth Century of the Christian Era; and that we might prayerfully and thoughtfully consider ways and means whereby a recurrence of this world-wide catastrophe may be made impossible, whereby the world's

people may dwell together in peace and unity. We are here to prepare for and to promote a peace which I hope shall be as enduring as eternity. Let us speed the day.

WAR'S ONLY JUSTIFICATION.

From a Memorial Day Speech at Wilson, Kan., May 29, 1915.

The flag, Abraham Lincoln and the American people, stand for the only thing for which war ever can be justified—the right of every human being to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In this we stand the spokesmen of humanity in the present world conflict. As a nation this is the vital principle of our national life, the very essence of our national honor, our covenant as a people with God. We are bound to keep it and to demand that others respect it. We are bound to follow it as we have and always will follow it wherever it leads. This is what the flag, in all its symbolism and beauty means to us; what America and Americans mean to the world.

To this enlightened creed we, as Westerners and Kansans, are and always have been committed.

As a people we are not for war. This nation never has been the aggressor in beginning a war.

It never has taken up the sword except when all other measures, then known to men, have failed.

It never has waged a war of aggrandizement. Historians now find ample justification for our war with Mexico, the only American war in which the divine principle of human rights did not far outweigh all other causes.

No other nation known to history ever has been so slow to anger, so loth to shed blood; so patient, so long-suffering, so level-headed under wrong, insult and aggression;

nor when it must fight, so powerful and all-prevailing in self-defense.

No other ever and always has treated a fallen foe so generously, so kindly, no nobly.

If ever a nation may be said to be a Christian nation—judged by its war history—this nation may claim to be, and its conduct in this dark and evil year when a blood lust blinds the world with passion, is in line with the highest and the noblest of its traditions.

My friends, in this epochal, crucial year, we as a nation in common with all other nations, are being tried in the balance. God has given us the most glorious mission that ever came to a nation since Time began—the mission and the opportunity to encompass the downfall and extinction of war; to bring about the rise—o'er all the world—of the light of reason and the Reign of Law.

Sooner or later this is coming. In this day and hour, on us more than on any other nation rests this mighty responsibility, that this vast and cruel war, this appalling sacrifice of human life and happiness, shall not have been in vain. Nothing else can ever justify it.

I believe this great, free nation is, to its undying glory, to be the instrument which shall bring about the end of warfare, of murder, as a means of settling the disputes of nations.

The great issue which dominates this world war, is not the cause for which the warring nations believe themselves to be fighting. It is not whether Alsace or Lorraine shall return to France, nor that unhappy, war-riven, starving Belgium shall be restored to peace and plenty, nor that Germany or England shall take the higher place in the sun. The true issue, the final outcome, is either to be the crushing-out of militarism, the annihilation of war; or a whole world armed to the teeth, every nation mistrusting and plotting against another, the absolute certainty of more fearful world-wars, wars involving the whole of humanity—until man, so-called intelligent man, with his

God-given powers of reason, can be made to see the utter futility, the utter insanity, the appalling waste and wickedness of organized murder, as a means of settling the disputes of nations. Until he does, this blood and suffering is upon his own head, a fitting punishment for his barbarity and wickedness.

God forbid that there shall be a continuation of this vast wickedness and folly.

By the faith that is in us, I hope humanity never again shall tread the fiery furnace of war; that we as Americans shall rise to our glorious opportunity, and that the American flag shall usher in that era of peace and good will among the nations which seems so just and reasonable—that at least there shall be no more war.

Then on this day, sacred to the memory of American valor and human sacrifice, let us again dedicate and consecrate ourselves to the cause of humanity, justice and peace, that these great blessings shall come to a war-weary world and abide forevermore.

WHEN WAR WILL CEASE.

From an Address to the Congregation of the Wichita M. E. Church, Patriotic Day, July 4, 1915.

We, the thrice-blest people of Kansas, cannot realize the awfulness of this world-wide war. We know it only by hearsay and from afar. But, we do know if our Christian civilization is to endure, if the human race is not to retrograde to a state of savagery, if we are not to lose all that we have gained thru the slow centuries of progress, this war of 1914-1915 must be the last war that arraigns the intelligence, the sanity, the humanity of mankind. And, while none of us here plays a part in the counsels of the

world which decree war, every one of us has a responsibility to God and man, which calls for a determined stand against the great iniquity. We can all, as private individuals, do something to aid the great and holy movement for a permanent world-peace.

By remaining steadfast to its holy principles, future generations of its own sons and daughters and countless millions of the progeny of Europe saved to posterity, will forevermore look upon the star spangled banner as the symbol of man's humanity to man.

I believe in America. I believe in the ultimate triumph of right and justice. I believe in the ideals of the American people in whom Abraham Lincoln placed such great confidence. I believe in God's providence we are slowly, and oftentimes with faltering steps, but none the less surely, advancing toward the Brotherhood of Man. We do not always see things in the same light. We can't always agree as to ways and means, but I am happy in the belief that the conscience of the good people of Kansas is more acute today than ever before in our history. I know we have high ideals and that as individuals we are more ready than ever before to make sacrifices for the common welfare; that slowly but surely we are coming a little nearer to the ideals of Him who gave His life for us. May God help us to do our part to maintain these ideals, to keep our hands clean, to set our faces toward the right, so to contribute our share toward the redemption of mankind, to bring it into the happiness and well-being of its divine inheritance.

OUR DUTY AND RESPONSIBILITY AT THE CLOSE OF THE WORLD WAR.

*Address at Conference of Governors at Washington, D. C.,
December 14-16, 1916.*

Domestic problems of vital consequence and importance will confront the American people at the close of the European war. Many of them can be foreseen and prepared for. Others perhaps now undreamed of, will arise to test the statesmanship of our leaders and the patriotism of our people. Economic conditions in the United States will change. The duration of the war; the final outcome; the terms of peace; the vitality left in the contending nations and their powers of recuperation, all will affect, in one way or other, the commerce, the industry, the financial condition of this country, and the national life of our people. The question of tariffs, the problem of immigration, the maintenance and extension of our foreign markets, our fiscal problem, will engage our most serious attention. But above all our domestic problems will loom the great responsibility that America owes to our own people no less than to the world, of establishing among the nations of the earth a permanent peace that never again shall be broken by the insanity of war and the deformity of militarism.

One need be neither a believer in the red-blood school of philosophy which defies brute force, nor a namby-pamby sentimentalist, to hold the belief that in the end some good to humanity will result from the hell that is now devastating so large a part of the civilized world.

Whether we look upon this war as inevitable—the product of irresistible tendencies—or consider it as the result of the deliberate machinations of scheming rulers crazed

by lust for power, it is the duty of the sane men of the world to make this world tragedy, which now seems to many of us to have set back the clock of civilization a thousand years, the marker of a new epoch in human progress. Humanity must gather up the fragments of the wreck and must begin the work of reconstruction upon a greater plan and with a higher purpose than any plan with which the world has ever built.

America by good luck, or by the grace of God, or by wise statesmanship, as you will, has up to the present time "kept out of war"; but our interest in its consequences is none the less on that account; and our duty and responsibility is all the greater. All the greater, too, because we are not entirely spotless; our hands are not wholly clean. We have pursued the safe course—and have filled our coffers in the meantime. We have fattened on the blood of the battlefield. Our farms have been depleted of horses; our grain has sold at war-time prices; our factories have worked overtime making munitions and our speculators have fattened upon "war-babies." The people of the United States, for all our neutrality, have participated most actively in the World War; and we cannot evade our responsibility at its close.

In the natural trend of events it is highly probable that the United States government will have a voice in the negotiations of peace upon the cessation of hostilities. To be in position to participate in a conference of such transcendent importance it is vital that this government and this people maintain an open mind, and observe in advance the most impartial neutrality. It is not for us now to begin dictating the details of terms of peace; we must not prejudge a cause which we may later be called upon to adjudicate. But certain principles are fundamental and may be discussed without prejudice to our standing as arbitrators. Foremost among these is the principle of a permanent peace. Better that this war with all its unspeakable frightfulness and suffering should continue for

years than that it should end with an inconclusive peace—in an armed truce, with the contending nations nursing their old animosities and ready to resume hostilities upon the first provocation or excuse.

Upon the American people rests the responsibility and duty of leadership in the movement for permanent peace among civilized nations. And the duty is not wholly altruistic. It is no Quixotic enterprise to which we are called. We are not meddlers in the affairs of others when we say that war must cease. The interdependence of nations; the bonds of commerce and finance, entirely aside from the dictates of common humanity, make it impossible for this plague of war to exist anywhere upon the globe without seriously affecting both our international relations and our domestic affairs. We can no more rely upon our geographical position of isolation as warrant for indifference. We cannot therefore be accused of being sentimental when we insist that our plea for peace be heard.

Putting the question on its very lowest basis, looking at it from a purely material point of view, war accomplishes nothing which could not be accomplished in a sane and Christian manner, and its cost in dollars and cents is far beyond all computation. The nations of Europe are expending a million dollars every thirty minutes. They are slaughtering human beings at the rate of a million men a year; they are wiping out the production of centuries of progress, entailing a loss upon the world which no gain of territory ever can replace. Our protest is not sentimental, altho we thank God that we are moved by human suffering and the waste of human life by this destroying world-sickness.

I believe that this thought is uppermost in the minds of the civilized world today. This war has intensified as nothing else could have done the hatred of battle and has brought home not only to rulers, but—what is of greater importance—to the people of the earth, the utter folly, the wicked futility, the criminality of a resort to arms as a

means of settling international disputes. Chancellors and premiers and cabinets in the capitols of Europe, who a few years ago would have laughed at any plans for permanent peace as chimerical schemes of dreamers, are now ready to consider with respect any measure that proposes immunity from this mad disease.

With few exceptions, the thinking men and women of the world agree that war is a barbarism which should be impossible as a policy of modern nations or in a Christian civilization. The cruelty of war; the wickedness of war; the economic waste of war; the absurdity of war is universally admitted. But the world's statesmen, either obsessed by an ancient superstition or with near-sighted statecraft plotting and intriguing for some hoped for advantage to themselves or to their country, seem unable or unwilling to abolish the crude custom of the Dark Ages of settling disputes with fire and sword. They realize that they live today in a new world, a world transformed in the last one hundred years; a world knit together by the telegraph and the wireless; a world made one country by quick transportation facilities and world-wide commercial enterprises; a world physically re-created in a century by science, invention and commerce, and intellectually made over by the wide dissemination of intelligence and the inculcation of the spirit of liberty and brotherhood in the hearts of all men. They know that in every avenue of human endeavor the world has made progress, but they still insist on applying to international disputes a method employed by the savages of the Stone Age; they admit no progress; they accept no new ideals. There are, it is true, here and there, men who profess still to believe in the tonic properties of blood-letting; who profess to think that the doctrine of the survival of the fittest implies a struggle of brute force; but such philosophy is held by comparatively few. No man can study the history of the evolution of human society and fail to see that law must be maintained between nations as it is between individuals. Absolute sovereignty

of the various nations is as impossible as absolute sovereignty for the individual. It now amounts to anarchy.

The close of the World War strikes the hour for the organization among civilized nations of an actual federation with the purpose of maintaining a world peace. And America is the one nation which can propose such a federation and effect its organization. We are the nation which can best assume the leadership. The task is hopeless without us. This is because of our non-participation in the present struggle and because of the magnitude of the nation and its resources. We are largest producers of the materials from which war munitions are made; we are in a fair way to become the bankers of the world; our population increases rapidly; our material growth and expansion have excited jealousy in certain quarters, so that any effort at federation is doomed to failure unless we participate. Historically, too, we are committed to the principle of conciliation. We showed the world as early as 1794, by negotiation under the Jay Treaty, the possibility of arbitration of questions of fundamental importance. Our present position, our historic attitude, to say nothing of the idealism which is a part of the American character, demand that we take the initiative in this tremendously vital movement.

And, moreover, as believers in democracy we are bound to believe in an inherent sense of justice in the hearts of the masses. Down-trodden and sodden as still are too many of the "lower classes" of the mighty empires of the earth, the leaven of intelligence, of justice, of fair-play is nevertheless working, and men do not willingly become cannon-fodder for a false ideal. It is "God and home and native land" for which they are willing to die, and not in a trivial quarrel nor to gratify the greed and cupidity of unscrupulous rulers. The most autocratic government that ever existed derived its powers, just or unjust, from the willing or unwilling consent of the people. And so war exists by the consent of the people. Grudgingly and unwillingly men give their consent, after being appealed to by false

patriotism, by the glamor of a sham glory, by coercion and fraud—but none the less the consent of the people. No war can be waged successfully without the support of public opinion. It demands a righteous cause, a just issue, and the use of all other means first. Let the people really know why they go to war; let them see the petty grounds of the quarrel; let them appreciate the justice of the compromise that is offered as a way out, and wars of revenge, of greed, of jealousy become impossible.

Let in the light and publicity will cure most of the world's international ills.

While it may not be germane to the subject I cannot forbear expressing the hope and the belief that the appalling suffering inflicted upon the peoples of Europe will greatly hasten the day of a world-wide democracy—when the people shall indeed rule and kings and emperors and czars shall be no more. And as democracy increases, the lust for war, no longer fanned by the scheming ambitions of individuals, will decline.

Referring again to the program of the League of Nations, should the weight of world opinion prove ineffective, the League has in its proposed economic boycott, a weapon almost as powerful as war itself. Few nations could withstand its pressure for long. Money, the stock-exchanges, the cables, the wireless; the postal service, all are international forces without which no nation could long make war, even if it could provide its own munitions and provender. And should this fail it is not inconsistent with the highest ideals of Peace to create a police force to maintain or to compel peace.

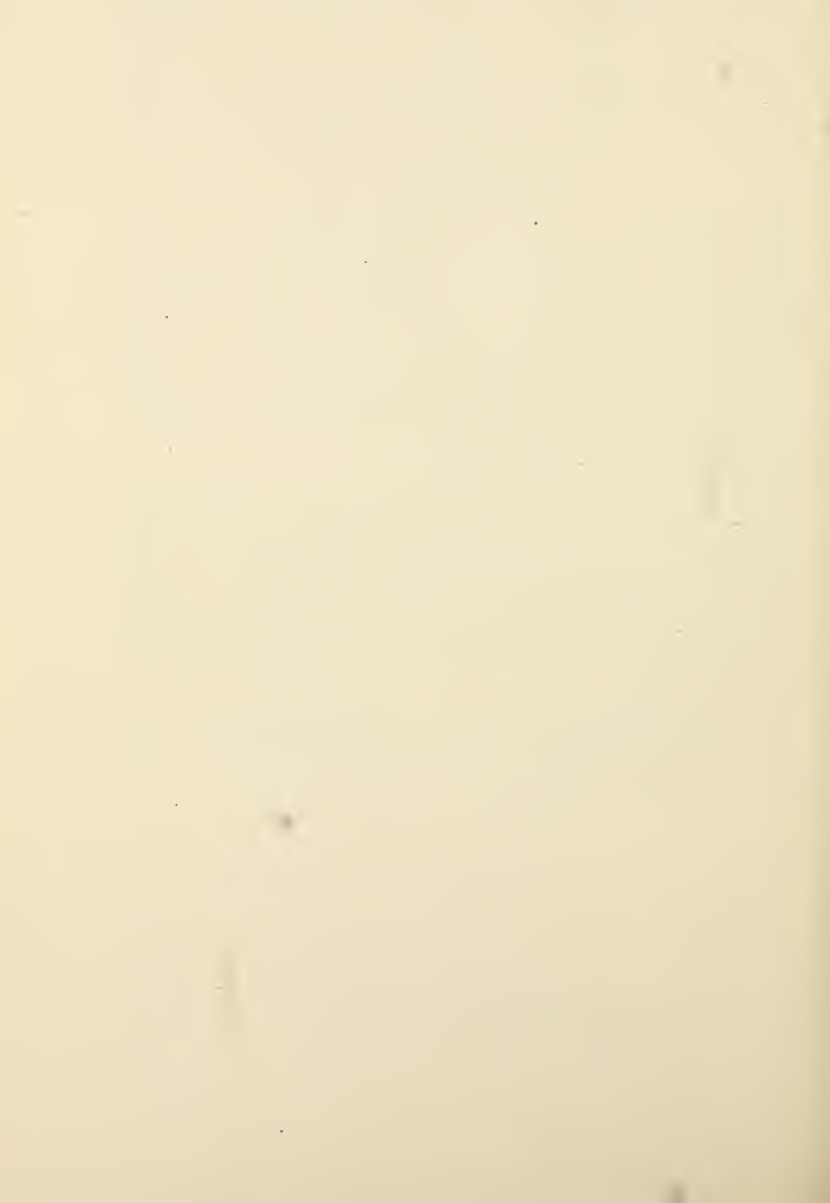
The world is sick of war, and more willing than ever before to listen to the voice of sanity, and to put an end to international anarchy, wherein each nation attempts to enforce its judgments by its own arms. Official representatives of England and of France have announced that their peoples are willing to co-operate in some such program. The preference of the Czar of Russia for peace

cannot be questioned. Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg sweeps aside the German advocates of ruthlessness, and declares that Germany is ready to join in the movement to prevent a recurrence of such a war. The United States is the logical nation to begin this movement for which destiny has now prepared mankind. Never before since the dawn of history has such an opportunity been presented to any nation as now comes to ours. And, gentlemen, our appeal will be irresistible.

The only danger is that we may lose our unique opportunity thru the scattering of our energies, thru becoming confused and ensnared in the multitude of considerations and possibilities which the war brings to the minds of thinking men and women. Our task is to keep one single issue burning into the general human consciousness: That the world can and must find some other way to settle differences of opinion than by the slaughter of men and the starving of women and children.

General Grant said near the close of his career that he never saw a cause of dispute between nations which could not have been settled by a resort to peaceful means. Emerson said: "It is not a great matter how long men refuse to believe the advent of Peace; a universal Peace is as sure as is the prevalence of civilization over barbarism, of liberal governments over feudal forms. The question for us is only 'How soon?'"

Gentlemen, the time has come. God grant that the American people will accept the responsibility and the opportunity.



MISCELLANEOUS ADDRESSES

DEVELOPMENT OF MANUFACTURING IN KANSAS.

From an Address Delivered to the Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce, March 31, 1916.

I am glad to come to this thriving, bustling city of Pittsburg and to have the opportunity of talking for a few minutes to business men who are doing things worth while. I congratulate you upon your organization and upon the thought behind it. I believe in the Commercial Club idea, not only because you can accomplish more for your city by working together, but also because of the subjective effect of such an organization—the effect upon the individual member. When two or three business men, competitors in business, are able to lay aside their petty differences, their jealousies, their rivalry, and take off their coats and work together toward one common end, they become better citizens and better men, whether they accomplish what they started out to accomplish or not. It is a fine thing, this idea of co-operation for the common good; it is the only way in which real Twentieth Century progress is made.

But I have not come here to utter platitudes about co-operative effort, nor to indulge in fulsome praise of what this Commercial Club is doing. Instead, I want to talk to you for a few minutes upon what I believe to be one of the biggest business problems confronting us as citizens of Kansas. That problem is the industrial development of this great state of ours.

Kansas is not going backward. It becomes a better state

every year, a better state in which to live. Our per capita wealth, our bank deposits, and the happiness and contentment of our people as a whole, all testify to our general and genuine prosperity.

Nature has been good to us. Kansas has nothing to complain of. But this wealth—the envy of many of our less fortunate sister states—has been for the most part, taken from the soil, and much of it has been taken in a way that decreases the soil's fertility and so impairs the state's capital stock.

And much of this wealth which we produce annually is sent out of the state in exchange for commodities which we can produce and ought to produce at home. We have been backward in developing along the industrial line, and as a consequence we are not making the gains in population that we ought to make, and we fall far short in taking advantage of all our opportunities for material advancement.

Our slow growth in population is due, I believe, primarily to three things:

In the first place, we develop so many bright young men and women within our borders that the rest of the world makes a draft upon us for men and women to fill positions requiring brains, energy, ability, courage and faith. As a consequence, too many of our young people go to other states where there are larger cities in the hope of finding wider opportunities of endeavor and greater reward for their effort. We must stop that.

In the second place, the business of farming, the chief occupation of our people, constantly requires a larger working capital and more elaborate and expensive equipment. As a result, our farms are becoming larger, with less man power to the acre. The farm tractor and other modern farm machinery tend to increase acreage and to decrease the number of farm laborers. This retards the increase of rural population.

In the third place, the attitude of our people as a whole toward manufacturing is a serious handicap to our growth.

Indeed, I regard it as the most serious of the three. We are so accustomed, all of us, bankers, business men and citizens in general, to look to the Kansas soil and the hard-working Kansas farmer to support us that we have become negligent of other opportunities and are slow to develop or encourage industrial enterprise. We must change the attitude of the Kansas mind toward industry and realize that a state cannot prosper on corn, and wheat, and hogs, and cattle alone. We must stop selling our raw material at a low price, shipping it to the East and then shipping it back and buying it as finished products at a high price, paying the freight both ways and a handsome profit to enterprising men beyond our borders. We do not intend to take one step backward as an agricultural state, but we must also become a manufacturing state—"a pay-roll state," if you please—with factories working twelve months in the year and a big home market for our products. We do not want to build a Chinese wall around Kansas; we have too much to sell the rest of the world to do that; but we must learn to produce within the state more of the things we now purchase from our neighbors. Some one has said that the average Kansan gets up in the morning in a house made in Michigan, at the sound of an alarm clock made in Illinois, buttons his Massachusetts suspenders to Missouri overalls; washes his hands with Cincinnati soap in a Pennsylvania basin; sits down to a Grand Rapids table; eats Battle Creek breakfast food and Chicago bacon, cooked on a Michigan range; puts New York harness on a span of Missouri mules and hitches them to a South Bend wagon or starts up his Illinois tractor with a Moline plow attached. After the day's work, he rides to town in a Detroit automobile; buys a Key West cigar for himself and a box of St. Louis candy for his wife; and spins back home, where he listens to music canned in Camden, New Jersey; reads a chapter from a Bible printed in Boston; says a prayer written in Jerusalem; crawls between sheets made in New England and dreams made in Heaven, supremely

happy in the consciousness he has money from all over the world in the bank, with which to satisfy the needs of his large and growing family.

And that's all well enough when he has the money, but he is keeping his eggs all in one basket; he is depending for his money on agriculture alone; he is the victim of crop failure and low prices; he lacks the independence which comes from having more than one string to his bow. And this, gentlemen, is a condition which we must change. There is no reason in the world why a large portion of the stock of goods in the retail establishments of Pittsburg should not be manufactured right here in Kansas. While in Boston last summer attending the conference of governors, I was seated at dinner one night next to a prominent New England shoe manufacturer. I asked him where was his best market and he replied "In the Southwest," and told me how many carloads of shoes he shipped to Kansas City every year to be sold in this state and adjacent territory. I asked him where the leather came from that he used in making those shoes and he told me, "From the Southwest," the hides from the big packing companies in this part of the country. I asked him if there was any reason why those shoes could not be manufactured in Kansas and he replied: "No reason at all excepting that you haven't got started at it. All that is needed is to get somebody behind the project who can interest capital and do the work. To be sure, Kansas is not full of skilled shoemakers, but they can easily be obtained and your native workmen can easily learn the trade." There is no reason in the world why we shouldn't be making in Kansas not only a large part of the 10 million dollars' worth of boots and shoes we buy every year, but also a part of the billion dollars' worth that the nation produces.

Neither is there any reason why we shouldn't manufacture in Kansas all of the nearly 2 million dollars' worth of harness and saddlery which the people of the state purchase every year. We could not only make that; but we

could help supply the rest of the nation with the 60 million dollars' worth that it uses.

The output of the wagon and carriage factories of the United States is 40 millions of dollars; Kansas purchases \$1,400,000 worth—despite the automobile—and manufactures practically none.

We buy $11\frac{1}{2}$ million dollars' worth of furniture and refrigerators; the nation buys a half billion dollars' worth—little of which we produce.

We manufacture a little soap, but nothing like the $2\frac{1}{4}$ million dollars' worth we buy. The nation uses 114 million dollars' worth—and we might be producing a big share of it. There is a 40-million dollar market for threshing machinery in the United States and nearly 3 million dollar market in Kansas; there's a quarter billion market in the nation for knit goods and hosiery; Kansas alone buys \$3,700,000 worth and produces none. And so on thru the entire list of the ordinary commodities of life. Incubators, brooms, cereals and breakfast foods—hundreds of them which Kansas might produce from raw materials just at hand.

Here is a little comparison of the way Kansas ranks with Iowa in its manufacture:

Excluding flour mills and packing houses, Kansas has 2,900 establishments manufacturing products to the value of 90 millions of dollars; while Iowa has 5,200 establishments manufacturing products to the value of 187 million dollars every year.

Iowa has 512 butter, cheese and condensed milk factories, while Kansas has but 60;

Iowa has 235 brick and tile factories, while Kansas has 55;

Iowa has 229 wood working establishments and Kansas 26;

Iowa has 119 carriage and wagon factories and Kansas 26;

Iowa has 42 establishments for making agricultural implements, while Kansas has only 18;

Iowa has 71 canning and preserving factories, while Kansas has a lone little 3; and so on down the line;

Kansas has one factory making dairyman, poultryman and bee supplies, Iowa has 17;

Kansas has one boot and shoe factory, Iowa 10;

Kansas one women's clothing factory, Iowa 19;

Kansas one stove and furniture factory, Iowa 13;

Kansas one coffin factory, Iowa 10;

Kansas one glove factory, Iowa 10;

Kansas one cutlery and tool factory, Iowa 16;

Kansas one woolen mill, Iowa 8;

And Iowa, as Kansas, is primarily an agricultural state, but at the same time she manufactures hundreds of articles which her own people use, and sells many of them to Kansas and other states. I cite Iowa because she is a typical Western state with no greater natural advantages for manufacturing than we have—not as many as you have here in Pittsburg.

Take Indiana as another typical agricultural state. With an area of 36,000 square miles, as compared with our area of 83,000, Indiana has a population of 2,700,000 while we have only 1¾ million. She has 75 inhabitants to the square mile while we have 22. But she has 51 cities of more than 5,000 population, to our 24; and 7,969 factories to our 3,435. Her industries give employment to 218,263 persons, while we have only 54,649 engaged in the industries. The value of the products of her industries is \$579,075,000, while Kansas manufactures products amounting to 325 million dollars. Indiana annually adds to her permanent wealth by manufacturing \$244,700,000 and Kansas only \$66,220,000.

Other states are keenly alive to the importance of industrial development. I never take a trip East that I am not impressed by the number of factories I see from the car window, in every city and town and even small village

thru which we pass, all giving employment to labor and distributing thru their pay-roll thousands of dollars to be spent in their respective communities. Is there any reason why every Kansas town cannot do what these Eastern towns are doing? Is there any reason why Kansas with its mild climate and thousands of acres of alfalfa should import cheese from Wisconsin, or with its adaptability to fruit and vegetables should import canned goods from Michigan and New York and Ohio? Why should we import thousands of car loads of Michigan salt when we have an inexhaustible supply in Central Kansas? As a matter of fact, it would be easily possible for the larger portion of the goods on the shelves of your retailers here in Pittsburg to be Kansas goods, produced by Kansas labor from Kansas raw materials. All we need is a fuller appreciation of our possibilities, a stronger faith in our ability and a freer action of that enterprising spirit which we like to think is characteristic of Kansas and Kansas people.

This is not a matter that concerns our towns and cities alone. Every citizen of Kansas has an interest in it. Increase the pay-rolls of Pittsburg and you increase your home market for farm products and increase the value of every farm in this county. As Kansas towns and cities grow, our agriculture becomes more diversified and more profitable. The farmer adjacent to a city naturally turns from the one-crop system; he adopts the plan of intensive cultivation, calling for the employment of more labor. This means smaller farms and more country people—more country trade for the city merchant—so that the “home market” of both the farmer and the merchant is benefited.

And we must not forget our soil is not inexhaustible. We cannot continue indefinitely to draw upon its fertility, without deterioration. Every bushel of wheat shipped out of the state; every bushel of corn, every ton of hay, removes just so much fertility and reduces by just so much the capital stock of our people. We look upon Kansas as a great flour state, but less than 50 per cent of the wheat

we grow is milled in Kansas; more than half is shipped out of the state carrying with it the bran and shorts which ought to be fed to livestock and so returned to our soil, in order to avoid soil exhaustion. It is a reproach to the enterprise of Kansas capital and Kansas business men that practically our whole wheat crop is not milled in this state; that more of our corn is not fed to stock or converted into finished food products. Pittsburg can manufacture as good breakfast food as Battle Creek and as good starch as Oswego, New York. We grow thousands of acres of broom-corn, but the big profit on the brooms we use goes to other states. It has been demonstrated that the best quality of strawboard can be manufactured profitably from Kansas wheat straw. We have a half dozen successful glass plants in southeast Kansas. I am told there is a fine opportunity for ten times as many as we now have. On every side of us we are producing the raw materials which enter into the high priced products of modern life, but only a very small percentage of them are finished in Kansas.

Pittsburg with its cheap fuel is especially interested in the development of Kansas industries. With the natural advantages you have here, this city should become one of the most important manufacturing centers in the entire West. In many lines, you can compete with any city in the nation and you have at your door a big and constantly growing market, for I want to say to you that the farm homes of Kansas and Oklahoma and this whole region are every day becoming greater consumers of those things which a generation ago were considered luxuries. The farmer of Kansas has not yet become a bloated plutocrat. He isn't rushing away to the cities to spend his hard-earned dollars for a few minutes' pleasure on the Great White Ways; but he is faring a little better than he did twenty years ago; he is living better; he is a better customer, and it is up to Kansas capital and Kansas labor to supply him so far as possible with Kansas products.

I believe the commercial organizations of the state are

thoroly alive to the situation and I am glad to see it. We do not want to encourage the boom spirit; we want no J. Rufus Wallingfords to bob up over night with promises of an everlasting fortune in the next few days. We are not particularly eager for any elaborate factory promotion schemes with hot air as the foundation and blue sky as the roof. That is not what Kansas needs. Instead we want an intelligent study of the situation by just such men as make up this organization; we want a careful scrutiny of the possibilities in every individual instance. We want a spirit of co-operation on the part of our bankers and capitalists, and then we want the earnest and hearty support of merchants and the general public. It isn't enough for our newspapers to print articles about supporting home institutions. It isn't enough merely to appeal to the patriotism of the consumers. We must get in earnest about it; we must get our merchants to realize the necessity of pushing Kansas-made goods whenever possible; the wholesaler and retailer must be brought to see that it pays in the long run to encourage Kansas industries—that every time he sells a Kansas-made product he is increasing his home market just that much. Most of all we must stand by and encourage the industries we already have, in order that they may demonstrate by their success the possibilities in this state and so lead more capital to investment in Kansas manufactories. Let our slogan be: "Kansas goods for Kansas people."

I realize, gentlemen, that this is a slow process; naturally time will be required; but the very fact that it does take time emphasizes the need of every effort to accelerate the work of educating the capitalist, merchandiser and consumer to an appreciation of the possibilities. Talk, to be sure, will not establish factories, but a sane study of the possibilities of the markets you can reach from Pittsburg; a survey of the raw materials to which you have ready access, and a bolstering up of your own faith in yourselves, will do wonders in the way of coaxing timid capital from its hiding

places, and prevent it being squandered upon get-rich-quick schemes a thousand miles away. I urge you to make this one of the chief features of your year's program of work. Talk Kansas-made goods and the industrial development of Kansas. We do not know, we cannot foresee, what will happen to America in a business way when the great tragedy that now envelops Europe is ended. We do not know what place America will take in the commerce of the world. If we hold our own in Europe, in South America, in the Orient, there will be an abundant outlet for the products of this section of the country. If we slip back, should the war-stricken nations turn with fresh vigor to the arts of peace and flood the markets of the world with their goods, there is all the more reason for Kansas to study its home market and to develop it to the limit; all the more reason why Kansas should utilize within its own borders as much of its raw materials as possible, and produce at home from Kansas materials, with Kansas fuel and Kansas labor and Kansas capital and Kansas enterprise, the greater part of what Kansas consumes.

CONSCIENTIOUS PUBLIC SERVICE.

From an Address at Overbrook Farmers' Institute, February 26, 1916.

I hope to see presented to the next legislature a plan of reorganization that will mean not only a saving of thousands of dollars to the tax bearers of the state, but what is of greater importance, will increase the efficiency of every servant of the people, and bring us cleaner, better, more adequate and more responsible government.

We are going to have a better system of government in this state and it is going to cost us less money; not less money in dollars and cents, perhaps, but less money in

the sense that we will get a larger measure of value for every dollar of public expenditure. Selfish interests, bitter partisanships, political tricksters may impede our progress temporarily, but the plain, common sense of the people will see to it that the thing is done in the end.

I believe we have all, somewhere within us, the deeply patriotic purpose—each in his own way as light and opportunity is given him—to advance, as a citizen and as a Kansan, the good name and fame of Kansas by further perfecting its government and institutions, so that the people may make that material and spiritual progress toward high efficiency, thrift and right living that makes a state and its people truly great and truly happy. To such a people is given leadership among peoples, a greater part, a greater honor, and a greater destiny and influence in the world.

Kansas has shown such leadership as this in many things. It is one of the great states in the American commonwealth. But other states are now doing things in which we should not be backward. Therefore, as a citizen and as your servant, I ask for your faithful and loyal support in the effort I hope we shall be able to make to put Kansas well to the front in the new and all-American movement toward better government and more efficient, conscientious public service, the key to all future progress.

Everything indicates this to be the deepest aspiration of the Kansas people at this time, and I hope they will not be satisfied till they get it by the grace of God and their best efforts.

I ask for your assistance as citizens, as farmers and as business men, to help Kansas and the Kansas people to a finer statesmanship and a greater statehood. It is not a one-man's job, nor a hundred men's task, but a responsibility that rests on all of us, and I don't believe Kansas is going to shirk it.

It is by noting such incidents as the scandal at Terre Haute, the noisome Lorimer case in Illinois, the criminal

politico-labor war in Colorado, the political corruption of Pennsylvania, New York and many other states, that such Western commonwealths as Kansas may get a perspective on the great advance they are making in intelligent, vigilant citizenship, in self-government, in higher, happier, more humane conditions and standards of civilization and living.

I believe that Kansas and the West are the pillar of fire that is to lead the American nation to its promised land. It is well that we as Westerners should realize how well we are fulfilling a manifest destiny, that we may take fresh courage and resolve never to prove unworthy of the leadership and responsibility that has come to us unsought.

A PLEA FOR THE SIMPLE LIFE.

*From an Address at First Christian Church, Lawrence,
November 26, 1916.*

We are living in an age of reckless extravagance in both private and public affairs. The simple, wholesome life of American tradition has been supplanted by the popular craze for display and frippery. Speed mania, dissipation, too many distractions, over stimulation of the emotions, are giving the boys and girls of today fatally wrong ideas of life. It is almost a national peril. We are all more or less the victims of a wave of bad taste, a lowering of standards of conduct, a universal rag-time of the tiddle-de-winks of life. We need to get back to that wholesome simplicity, that old-fashioned home-life from which we started. I would like to see a return to the old dictum of our childhood, that modesty and neatness in dress is becoming and seemly and that extreme styles and extravagant dressing are not only vain but ridiculous and foolish. I do not mean that we should live meagerly or parsimoniously, but that

we should go back to the solid, substantial things of life, to standards of living which benefit the individual instead of injuring him, which tend toward human progress, toward uplifting humanity and not toward a lowering of the stamina of the people.

The great business of every state and nation is home-making and the training of the young. No success can make up for a failure here. No community can evade this duty except at the cost of its own decline and destruction. It is little less than criminal to bring up boys or girls in idleness and without teaching them the good old-fashioned virtue, thrift. Too many boys and girls are being brought up to receive continually and give practically nothing in return.

We should give every possible encouragement to the boys and girls to earn something during vacation in the back yards, or about the house, by repairs, dressmaking, cooking or millinery. School savings banks should be encouraged to stimulate the rising generation to acquire habits of industry and thrift.

I fear the present system of over-educating brings boys and girls out of some schools who think they know so much that they need not work with their hands. Unless such boys can get an easy job in an office they simply won't work, and the girls refuse to do housework. This kind of schooling is a fatal error, not only for the individual, but for society. The world's work must be done and our boys must be taught that all labor is honorable. Inculcating the doctrine of thrift would have a wonderful bearing upon lessening criminal costs, suicides, divorcees, dissipation and calls for charity.

PUT THE PUBLIC BUSINESS ON A BUSINESS BASIS

*From an Address to the Kansas Bankers' Association at
Wichita, Kan., April 21, 1915.*

I am going to do a little plain talking tonight, because I believe the plain truth is good for us. The average business man, thru mistaken motives, or thru no motives, has come to be almost a cipher in the political affairs of his community. For years he has been shamefully, habitually and unpatriotically neglecting his political duties. As a business man to business men, I am here to say to you bankers of Kansas that what we need most in this country, what we must have, and what we are soon going to get, is more business in our politics and in our public affairs. This now is our greatest lack in government, the reason why we have the poorest, the loosest, the most inefficient and the most expensive public service, from top to bottom, of any first-class nation on earth.

Up to the present time our unquestioned industry and our great natural resources have pulled us thru. Perhaps this has partly been the trouble, we have been too busy. But we can no longer let our public affairs manage themselves under the spoils system, which everywhere is hampering our statesmanship and preventing a business-like conduct of our public service. Largely as a result of this, everywhere we find our public expenditures are doubling, if not more than doubling every 10 years.

Our present system of public service was born in the days of the stage coach and the blunderbuss. It is utterly incapable of keeping step with the quick march of modern progress. Every year it is falling farther and farther behind. It is so inefficient and unmanageable in its methods,

that thru its own inadvertence it frequently defeats its own good purposes and invariably brings keen disappointment to the people. It has thwarted the will, discouraged the genius and hindered the progress of the American people for generations and never more so than today.

In city, county, state and nation, the expense of the public service costs the man of means and property, most. It is going to cost him still more, if, thru his personal neglect, he makes it known he is content that it shall. But that is not all it will cost him. It is going to cost him vastly more, in the hampered progress, in the stunted development of his community, of his state, of his business. There is nothing surer. The old world has found this out and has acted on it sooner than we have.

In the past we have been inclined to let the bosses and the professional politicians do about as they pleased with us in this country. We are not going to continue this policy. But I think few of us appreciate the magnitude of the task of reform and reorganization there is before us, or that as yet we are not getting the help and assistance of the men best qualified to direct us. They are the business men.

Why can't we apply a little American business sense to government?

In every community the men of finest executive ability and of greatest influence on its life and progress are the bankers and business men. I don't believe they have, or that the people have, any conception of what we are losing, thru not having the active personal interest and assistance of these men in making the public business a business.

Especially in the larger cities, we ought to have the benefit of the brain and the influence of the smartest men in the community—the business men—in directing the business affairs of the community. It is a reflection on our common sense, and on their patriotism, that we, and they, have let the politicians brush them to one side, that party spoilsmen might play ducks and drakes with public prog-

ress and public funds. This is our great and pressing need at this time in every community, in every state and in the nation, and we cannot afford to continue to neglect it.

I have no panacea to offer you for our political ills. I have no pet schemes to put thru and no revolutionary measures to propose. All that I hope to accomplish is to bring to the administration of your public system in Kansas, modern business methods, to do the best that we can do in existing conditions.

I believe we all will admit that the machinery of government—state government, county government, and municipal government, as it exists in Kansas today, is not entirely ideal. It is expensive and cumbersome, as is amply attested by the fact that in the last ten years the total expense of the government for the state of Kansas has increased from 15 million dollars a year to more than 28 million dollars, while population has been slightly increased, and this without any conspicuous graft or corrupt deals, without any public official pilfering from the treasury. We have, of course, received some benefits from the increased taxes. We have built up many institutions which are a credit to the state, but no man will dare say that the people of Kansas in the last ten years have received 100 per cent benefit from the money they have paid in taxes.

In my opinion, many changes must be made in our system of government. As a state, we must follow the example set by the great railway systems and business corporations in adopting modern scientific business methods, in the elimination of useless positions and in requiring the very highest efficiency on the part of every public servant. And this is not the work of a day, or even of one administration. It requires study of the most scientific nature, and statesmanship of the highest kind; all prompted and backed by a determination to give the people of the state the best system of government that can be devised for them. Other states of the Union are taking up this big problem and studying it, are investigating and experiment-

ing and Kansas must step into line and revise her business methods, taking advantage of everything which will promote efficiency and economy. And, this work must extend thruout our entire system, from the governor in the state house down to the township trustee.

I find that in buying public supplies, it is not infrequently the custom for public officials, both state and local, to favor a bidder who may be a friend; he may have contributed liberally to the campaign fund, or he may be considered simply a good fellow, whose turn it is to have a little of the fatness out of the public crib. I am satisfied this pernicious custom is quite common all over the land; that many dealers and supply houses feel that they have a license to graft in this way on the public treasury.

I recently was somewhat surprised to find a certain firm selling supplies to the state at about 10 per cent more than it was charging me for the same goods in my own business.

“Why?” I asked.

The answer I got was that it always had been the “custom” to get a little better price from the state.

I may say that it is a custom which shall abruptly cease under this administration. The state is entitled to the lowest price given to anyone, and I shall make it my business to see, during this administration, that the man who makes the lowest price shall invariably and regularly get the business, without regard to his religion, his nationality, his good fellowship or his political pull.

And, so, my friends, I have an abiding faith in an early adjustment of our sadly out-of-line governmental machinery; I have faith that our business sense will lead us to the early adoption of modern business methods in our public affairs; and I have faith that you bankers of Kansas and the business men of Kansas, as good citizens, as patriots, as men of honor, will unite in an effort to make your state government the most efficient, the most

economical, the most just, the most humane, the most useful and helpful in all this republic.

My short experience as a public official has convinced me more firmly than ever, that the great need in our public life is more earnest men, more patriotic men, broader men, more level-headed business men who are not constantly playing the game of politics, men big enough to sink their individualities, their partisan bias and their differences of opinion in team work, and for the sake of team work, in any and every right direction. We greatly need that high appreciation of a public trust which shall inspire every party man elected to serve the people, to approach his duties with a passion, to do his work, not as a party man, but as a true, devoted, steadfast representative of that public to which he has, in his official oath, sworn to give allegiance and the best there is in him.

It shall be my effort to encourage such a policy in our public business, and I ask for your earnest co-operation. I ask for your assistance as business men and as Kansans to help Kansas and the Kansas people to a finer statesmanship and a greater statehood. Your governor cannot do it all alone; he must have the whole people of the state behind him.

KANSAS READY FOR GOOD ROADS.

*An Address by Governor Capper at a State Conference on
Road Building, 1917.*

The biggest, most vital thing now before Kansas is roads, all-year-round permanent roads. The one thing at this time which will do most for the general welfare of Kansas and its people is the building of such roads on a systematic, rational, comprehensive plan. This is the next step, the most logical step in our development. It is warranted as

well as demanded by our great increase of motor traffic, and by our great need of motor roads and of motor transportation in getting our products to market at all times of year.

Thruout the United States, this is a coming nation-wide development for which forces long have been gathering, and which conditions have been making more and more urgent. It has taken our war needs to make us realize sharply that we have outgrown our railway facilities, that these facilities have a limit. Railway building must depend on heavy traffic, dense population and long hauls. Railways cannot profitably radiate thru countless country neighborhoods and little market centers. They have about reached the limit of their development in most states. They can go little or no farther except thru the double-tracking of existing lines and thru team-work, co-ordination, and efficiency of operation. The existing lines must now be supplemented by trolley lines and by motor-truck transportation. And permanent road building and motor traffic comes first because all the people may use the roads and the benefits are more widespread and general.

The agencies for this new development are all here about us except the roads. And now that this great American nation is going to see such an era of road building as no country ever experienced before, Kansas must not lag behind, for the time is ripe and the same conditions are here and even more markedly here than in many other commonwealths.

In Kansas, to a great extent, our further progress as a people now waits upon this development. Kansas now has nearly 200,000 motor cars and trucks, representing an investment of nearly 200 million dollars. The yearly increase of motor vehicles in Kansas runs into the thousands, and the daily operation of these trucks and cars has a most important bearing on the prosperous development of our farming industry. These cars are ending the isolation of

country life while enhancing its wholesome benefits and improving its commercial and educational opportunities.

A system of state roads, connecting all our market centers will add new life blood to all our activities. It will intensify production, bring better prices, increase population, make better social conditions. It will ameliorate or remove more adverse conditions than any other agency.

Kansas is no laggard. Our general trend always has been upward. We have led the nation in many innovations now accepted without qualifications. We have an immense territory that needs linking together. It was quite natural that our first consideration should have been the construction of towns which included court houses, public schools, educational and eleemosynary institutions and libraries. Public utilities, such as electric light plants, telephones, water and sewer systems are prevalent thruout the commonwealth. We are now confronted with the problem of co-ordinating these centers.

An elaboration of a system of highways which will make communication possible at all times of the year and in all kinds of weather, between these trading points, means that those living between and around them will have an improved economic and social life which will redound to the best interests of the state as a whole.

I am proud that during my administration as governor, the people established a State Highway Commission to work out these construction problems from a state-wide viewpoint and to take advantage of Federal aid which the government has so generously offered. Every state in the Union now has a Highway Commission and I am glad to say that the administration of the Kansas commission has been most effective. While the amount of funds at the commission's disposal has been most modest and it has had no money with which to aid directly in road and bridge construction, the commission has worked out a system of highways, connecting the counties, which reaches 85 per

cent of our population and 92 per cent of the taxable property.

The nation is now getting ready for a reconstruction program which not only will make up for lost time during the war, but will utilize the immense force of men who are returning from overseas and who are coming home thoroly converted to advantages of stable construction in highway work.

The state of Illinois at the recent election, by a vote of 6 to 1, voted to issue 60 million dollars in bonds for building hard-surfaced roads, all of which will be paid for out of the automobile fund. If the state of Illinois can build a system of 4,800 miles of hard-surfaced roads out of her automobile fund and pay the interest and principal out of this fund in twenty years, Kansas can do likewise, as Kansas has more automobiles per capita than Illinois and we have just as good cement plants as our sister state. The funds for such work will be spent for work and wages and materials within our own borders and a greater part of the money will come back to us.

I feel sure that the people of Kansas believe the time has come to begin a road-building program. Our Highway Commission stands ready to push any plans the government may wish in connection with its reconstruction program and I believe we shall be derelict in our duty if we are not fully alert to our opportunities.

WHAT MAKES A CITY GREAT?

*From an Address to the Mercantile Club, Kansas City,
Kan, December 8, 1915.*

I do not know of any place in the United States in which I would rather speak on the subject, "What Makes a City Great?" than in Kansas City, Wyandotte county, Kansas.

And the reason is this: You people of Kansas City already have accomplished wonderful things; you have laid the foundations of greatness, and you have still more wonderful possibilities ahead of you. It needs no prophet to see that this city at the mouth of the Kaw is destined to growth and progress and power—growth and progress in and of itself without reference to the fate of your sister city on the other side of the river. Your destiny is not necessarily bound up with that of Kansas City, Missouri. You may have been at one time a suburb, a side-show, a spill-over from across the river, but that day is past; as the metropolis of the great state of Kansas you have achieved an individuality of your own, despite the unfortunate identity of names, and your future depends upon the development of that individuality.

Kansas City, Kansas, has, I believe, the two factors that contribute most to the development of a great city: You have the opportunity which comes with a favorable location; you have builded your city at the gateway to an empire whose rich productiveness never has been excelled. And more important than that you have proved to the world that you have men and women with the large vision, the strong faith in the future, and the untiring energy that is indispensable to every great undertaking.

The opportunity is here and you have the spirit to make the most of it.

I have not come here to indulge in flattery or fulsome praise of what you already have accomplished; but it is well for all of us to stop at times to take stock—to review what we have done—to see ourselves as we really are, and to determine so far as possible, what factors have contributed most largely to the progress we have made.

Kansas City, Kansas, has very many things of which to be proud. Overshadowed as you have been by your larger—and shall I say, more vociferous?—sister on the Missouri side, the people of Kansas and of the nation do not realize what you have and are doing.

Few Kansans realize, for example, the extent of your manufacturing interests. The city across the river has the pleasant little habit of gobbling up all the credit for about everything you do over here. I saw not long ago a very handsome booklet issued by the enterprising Commercial club of the Missouri city setting forth the magnitude of its industrial and manufacturing interests, and I noticed that a large part of their thunder was supplied by you people on the Kansas side. There need be no unseemly rivalry between the two cities; any spirit of envy or bitterness should be avoided; but Kansas City, Kansas, must see to it that she gets full credit for all she does, and that the industrial world and especially the people of our own state fully understand her resources and her standing.

As a matter of fact, your manufacturing output of 160 million dollars or more this year probably is three times as great as that of Kansas City, Missouri. You have industries here to support a large population, and it is most gratifying to see that new ones are coming to you every month and every year, attracted by your favorable location and the many advantages you are able to offer them.

So much for your business and industrial development. Great as it is, encouraging as it has been, there are other factors which to my mind are of still more vital importance to you today and of greater weight in determining your future. A city is not made up exclusively of workshops and factories—indeed, these industries are only the foundations upon which a great city is built. Men must have a means of livelihood, but that supplied—the fundamental need taken care of—the big question is the environment in which they live; the atmosphere in which they rear their families; the moral and civic tone of their community. It must be the aim of city-builders not only to provide means of making money, but more important, to make a good place in which to live.

Kansas City is a good place to live in. The God-fearing men and women have not neglected the welfare of your

souls; you have churches of almost every denomination and other religious institutions which are doing good work. You are not neglecting the training of your youth; indeed, Kansas City, Kansas, has especial reason to be proud of her school system. I am told that your public and parochial schools have a total enrollment of 17,000 boys and girls; that your three high schools are training more than 2,600 youths and are giving them an education of both brain and hand which will fit them for the work of life. You have laid the foundation of a university of your own, which ought to be encouraged and developed.

But, most of all, I want to commend your excellent night high school, which is doing such excellent work especially among your citizens of foreign birth who have had small opportunity in English education. It is of the greatest importance that a city such as yours with its large percentage of sturdy workers from foreign lands should employ every possible means to convert these newcomers into loyal, intelligent, patriotic American citizens. America has well been called the "Melting Pot of Nations." We are proud of being a land of refuge for the oppressed and the superfluous of other countries. But, what shall come from the crucible, what the future American shall be, depends entirely upon the treatment we accord the new-comer and the development we enable him to make. It is a serious problem which confronts every city of any magnitude and I congratulate you upon the start you have made in this work. It deserves every encouragement, and while I have no doubt it costs money, I am sure from a purely business point of view, it is a paying investment.

In connection with your schools, I want to say a word about your Parent-Teachers' association. I learn that it has been a big factor in the development of your excellent school system. It cannot be otherwise. The closer the bonds between the home and school the more efficient the training and education. The sympathetic co-operation of the parent is absolutely essential to a good school, as is

evidenced by the work you are accomplishing thru the enthusiastic Parent-Teachers' association here.

Another factor which I believe has already contributed much to the well-being of your city and which is destined to do still more is your commission form of government. You are one of the first cities and one of the largest cities to adopt this modern, business-like method of handling public affairs. I do not imagine that it has worked out 100 per cent perfect, but it is a long step in the right direction, and if every citizen will perform his full civic duty and will keep alive his interest in civic affairs not only on election day, but 365 days in the year, it is possible for you to have a model city government. We are prone to think that the full responsibility of good government rests upon the office-holders alone. We cast our vote on election day, if it is convenient for us to do so, and let it go at that; while as a matter of fact the officers of your nation, of your state and of your city need your active interest and sympathy and co-operation every day in the year.

You are accomplishing much in the experiment of municipal industries. Your city-owned electric light and water plants have attracted the attention of students of municipal affairs from all over the country.

I am not a municipal efficiency expert and I do not feel qualified to point out to you tonight the royal road to municipal greatness. But I do know this:

No matter how great your natural advantages; no matter how many manufacturing establishments' erect plants here; no matter how large the weekly pay-rolls of wage-earners, you will not attain your full growth, you will not develop to the limit of your possibilities, unless you maintain a spirit of true unity of purpose which will impel you to work together for the common good, not only thru your Mercantile club, but thru all your organizations of every description.

In years past you have been overshadowed completely

by the larger city across the river. You are too big for that, now. You are big enough and strong enough to get out from under this Missouri shadow, and give your city an individuality. You can do this only by converting every citizen into a booster for this city—by cultivating the Kansas spirit—by developing a civic pride and a civic consciousness which is willing to make sacrifices if need be for the common good—by avoiding petty jealousies—by really loving your own town and your own state.

You want to create and foster a spirit of loyalty to your own town and your own institutions. You want every man, woman and child in Kansas City to appreciate that this city has every advantage that any city in the country can offer them. You want to develop their faith in Kansas City and their enthusiasm for Kansas City, and gentlemen, you can only do that by showing your own faith and your own enthusiasm. It is well for you to reach out after new industries; it is well for you to endeavor to bring more people to Kansas City; it is well for you to make Kansas City grow, but the greatest work your club can do is to promote that spirit of loyalty to your home town which is absolutely necessary to any real progress and advancement. Make Kansas City people and the people of all Kansas believe in Kansas City. The town across the river is a great town and will be still greater. Every true Kansan is proud of it and rejoices in its growth and prosperity. But so is this Kansas City a great town—equally as great in its way—and there is no excuse for your allowing Kansas City people to look across the river—or to any other city in the world—for what they can get here. It is the province of your club to keep Kansas people and Kansas money at home. You can do no better work than that.

Pride of that sort makes good citizens. It develops interest in civil affairs and so makes for more efficient city government. It leads to the election of better men, cleaner men, to municipal offices. It tends to the removal of petty, partisan politics from civic affairs. I think I understand the

spirit of Kansas City; altho I'll confess that your politicians keep me guessing the most of the time. But whatever kind of politicians you have, good or bad, you want to keep machine politics out of your city affairs if you hope to attain efficiency or economy in their administration. The two don't mix. You want that pride which says that nothing is too good for Kansas City. This does not mean a mad career of extravagance and wastefulness. Quite the contrary. Improvements made on an extravagant scale; expenditures for what the city does not need; the over-burdening of your people and your industries by heavy taxation, are not good, but bad. Such things retard growth and turn the municipal clock back. But when the wide-awake business men of a community are thoroly imbued with civic pride, and thoroly determined to make of their city a model community, they will see to it that both the extremes of extravagance and penuriousness are avoided. They will push the city as rapidly as it can stand, and no faster.

MASONRY AND DEMOCRACY.

From an Address at Masonic Grand Lodge, Topeka, February 16, 1916.

When I stood for the first time in a lodge of Free and Accepted Masons to receive the degree of an entered apprentice, I learned from the twenty-four inch gauge that eight hours of my day should be devoted to the service of God and a distressed brother.

I learned from the form of a lodge that a Free Mason's charity should know no bounds.

When the Worthy Master gave the charge at closing, I

heard, "Every human being has a claim upon your kind offices. Do good unto all."

And I was told to practice out of the lodge—and that I took to mean wherever I should find myself—those great moral duties taught in the lodge.

"And the greatest of these is charity."

Nineteen centuries ago when the divine Teacher of mankind made that last journey to Jerusalem, a certain lawyer, crafty and full of guile, stood up and tempted Him, asking,

"And who is my neighbor?"

The gentle and patient Christ answered His tempter with that masterly parable of the Good Samaritan—a classic of literature that would live forever even tho our faith in its divine Author were lost. The priest and the Levite, God's chosen, drew aside their garments, wrapped themselves in the cloak of indifference and passed by on the other side. The Good Samaritan, forgetting the difference of race, of creed and caste, felt only the call of humanity and hastened to help a fellow-being in distress.

Notwithstanding the plain and forceful teaching of our Savior's parable, men still are asking by word and action, consciously and unconsciously, "Who is my neighbor?" And Masonry answers with Christ, "All the children of men; the despised, the lowly, the unfortunate, the oppressed, the wicked and the ungodly—as well as the high and mighty, the cultured, those bound to us by blood and creed, the comfortable and the self-satisfied." Every human being has a claim upon my sympathies; the Free Mason's charity knows no bounds. The difference of race, of religion, of caste, meant nothing to the Good Samaritan. They mean nothing to the good Mason. The claims of humanity transcend all difference of race and creed and position. The true Mason is a friend of mankind—a brother of the human race. And that is the real essence of democracy; for democracy rests upon those principles

of fraternity and humanity that are at the foundation of Masonry.

The Mason, then, of all citizens, must of necessity be a patriot. He must be inspired with that love of country which is more than mere sentiment and high-sounding cant. It is not enough for him to cheer when the flag goes by. It is not enough for him to feel a patriotic thrill and to stand uncovered when the national anthem is played. His patriotism must be positive and active. It must be one of the prime motives behind his every act. It must manifest itself in his attitude toward life and toward his fellows. It must impel him to make the problems of his country and the welfare of his countrymen his own intensely personal concern. It must make him think of the United States of America—not as an abstraction symbolized by Uncle Sam or the fair figure of Columbia; not as 3 million square miles of fertile plains and rock-ribbed mountains; not as a rich and powerful land; but as 100 million human souls whose brother he is; whose life and well-being are of immediate personal concern to him.

At no time in the history of our nation has there been so great a need as now, of this active, personal patriotism which places country above the individual, the common good above selfishness. We are given to flattering ourselves with the thought that we are God's chosen people, and that the destiny of the human race will be worked out by us in this new world. We look upon our Republic and its republican form of government, tho they are less than 140 years old, as established facts—as experiments tested and proved. And in this complacent satisfaction lies our danger.

Today for the first time in a generation many of our people are stirred by fears of unknown foreign foes. Many of us are haunted by day and by night by specters of ships and guns and hordes of barbarians sweeping down upon our shores and laying waste our land. A call has come to arms, and thinking men and women dread what may result

from that call to this peace-loving nation, which above all others stands for the reign of law among nations as well as among men.

My brethren, I realize it is folly to cry "peace, peace," when there is no peace. That it is worse than folly stubbornly to close our eyes to whatever danger may threaten us from a war-maddened, empire-drunkened foe—if such a foe exists. But the real peril to this Republic, the immediate danger to this free people, is not beyond the broad Atlantic where so many millions of our fellow beings are engaged in so vast and cruel a struggle. It is not across the wide Pacific where the little yellow man is looking for an outlet for his teeming millions and a larger field for his newly awakened energy and enterprise. I admit there is not a monarch nor a monarchy in all the world which would not rejoice to see the downfall of this Republic. King and emperor and czar, and the satellites of flunkeyism, would welcome the failure of our experiment in self-government, because the failure of the American Republic would mean the doom of democracy. But it is not emperor and czar—nor their armies and navies that we need fear most. The peril that threatens us, very real and ever-present, lies not in the cabinets of Europe, but in the hearts of our own people. The republics of history have fallen, not to external foes, but as victims of their own disloyalty to the ideals of democracy—a foe more deadly than all the combined forces of the world. We can more easily turn back the foreign invader than we can stifle the discontent of large masses of people who believe they are not receiving their just deserts at the hands of society. We can more easily escape the shot and shell of Europe or Japan, than we can escape the benumbing and destructive effects of sloth and indifference and cynicism on the part of the people toward public affairs and the public service. No enemy can inflict upon us the utter ruin that we can bring upon ourselves by disloyalty to the American ideal. Our national life, our very existence, must be fed by the springs

of a deeply ardent patriotism in the heart of every citizen—a patriotism that transcends all narrow self-interest and lays a man's all upon the altar of his country.

And so, my brethren, in this year of world-wide calamity, this year of tragedy so black that all the world stands appalled, it is well for us as men of peaceful, happy Kansas to turn our minds to what our country demands of us as men and as Free Masons. It is well for us to remember that our Masonic vows carry with them these great obligations of citizenship; to remember that the true Free Mason is a patriot of the highest type.

No man can foresee the outcome of the world war, destroying daily so many human lives and consuming such vast treasure accumulated by the toil of ages. But we know the world never again will be what it was before that fateful August, 1914. In our larger faith we may hope that good will come from it. But, it is difficult for the human eye and the human mind to see how this is possible. Our beloved country so far has escaped entanglements which would drag it into active participation in this vast massacre of humanity. Yet we cannot hope altogether to escape its consequences. The future of America is affected to a greater or less degree by every battle fought on European soil. American diplomacy, American commerce, American industry and perhaps many details of American government itself will all be changed by the outcome of this war. We dare not fold our hands in indifference and say it is no concern of ours. We must set our own house in order; we must consecrate ourselves anew to the idea of democracy—to the eternal principles of a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Our great peril is here at home.

I believe in America, in the spirit of the American people. I do not think the faith of our fathers is dead within us. I believe our country and its institutions rest on the solid rock of justice and righteousness which cannot be overthrown by all the powers of destruction, unless we our-

selves turn from these things. But no man who loves his country can think for a moment that we have attained the ideal state. No man who gives sober thought to the future can fail to see the shoals and breakers on every side.

I stood recently, on a summer night, on Broadway—that great White Way ablaze with light and teeming with humanity. I saw stock-brokers and clerks, millionaires and their cashiers, women from homes of refinement, and painted, brazen harlots mingling together in one wild debauch of extravagance and license. I heard the ribald songs and saw the suggestive dances; and I asked myself, “Is this America, the land of the Pilgrim Fathers?”

And then in my mind’s eye, I saw the men and women who produced the wealth squandered with such profligacy that night. I saw men stripped to the waist, in an inferno of heat, stoking furnaces in reeking holds of ocean-going vessels. I saw miners digging coal in tomb-like entry ways underground and the hovels in which they lived above ground. I saw men slaving at great blast furnaces. I saw the myriad workers in mills and factories. I saw pallid, joyless women and children in sweat shops and cotton mills. And instead of the hum of happy, contented industry, God’s wages for wholesome toil, I seemed to hear the low rumblings of a mighty volcano, a volcano heaving with vast human misery, injustice and bitter discontent.

I saw the schools of America—the bulwark of the nation, and saw with dismay that their doors were closed to nine out of ten of all the children of the land after they had acquired the mere rudiments of reading and writing.

I saw a sane nation spending multi-millions of dollars for alcoholic drinks that ruin body, mind and soul. I saw thousands of harlots dragging young manhood and young womanhood down to destruction. I saw the Church earnestly but ineffectively striving to turn back this great flood of evil.

I turned my eyes to the national capitol, to our state capitols, and to our municipalities. Almost everywhere I

saw strife and dissension, extravagance and inefficiency and indifference, if not positive dishonesty. And I turned from it all as from a bad dream and cried out to myself: "This cannot be the America we love!"

Is ours then a hopeless task? Have we fallen on evil times? Need we despair of the future? Is there no "balm in Gilead"?

We should be craven if we could look into one another's faces here today and let pessimism cloud our meeting. The very fact that so many good and true men of Kansas have gathered here in solemn conclave, to pledge themselves anew to the eternal principles of this noble order, gives the lie to the man who says that the spirit of justice, of fraternity, of charity and of patriotism is dead in America—that the issue is hopeless. We are true men. We recognize divine authority and we humbly bow to the divine injunction. Our building has not been perfect; but there is a God, and we still have the plummet and the square, and with God's help, our structure finally shall meet the approval and merit the blessing of the Supreme Architect. Manhood is not dead in America. Step by step, we progress surely though slowly toward better things; and I am happy in the belief, my brethren, that the teachings of this order, the quickening of conscience, the broadening of sympathy which comes to every true Mason, have greatly to do with the raising of ideals and the betterment of conditions in our national life.

As Americans and as Free Masons, we believe in democracy. We believe in the brotherhood of man. We believe in equality of opportunity. We believe in help for the weak and in charity for the unfortunate, and we are pledged to the principles of justice to all men—not the cold justice of stern, forbidding law which decrees "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," but the justice of our Saviour, tempered by loving kindness that encompasses the whole world. In my deepest heart, I believe America is the testing ground of democracy. I believe that here is

the place and now is the time for the highest development of humanity. Mankind has ever come up thru difficulties, been both blessed and cursed by adversity. I have the deepest confidence in the American spirit and the American people. And, I believe that America is destined in God's providence to lead the people of the world to higher planes of life, to nobler aims and richer aspirations.

I believe this wicked war in Europe will bring new world-wide responsibilities to us as a people; I believe that in the cause of humanity it will be America that will bind up the wounds of the nations and lead the world back to peace, and it may be to a permanent peace. And I have every confidence that by God's grace the American people will rise to these new responsibilities. Our work, brethren, is here where we are. No man living but has his share. We touch the world here.

It is not in the busy marts of trade; it is not in our great exchanges with their millions and their hundreds of millions of stocks and bonds; it is not in our factories with their thousands of workmen; it is not in our mines nor forests nor fertile fields with their rich products; it is not in our ships that go down in the deeps nor in the thundering trains that rush across our continent—it is not in these that we must seek the stimulus that will make America equal to the task before her. All these are necessary. The true American is "fervent in business." But it is not by our hands alone that our destiny is to be worked out. We must search the hearts of the people and find there the impulse for that righteousness and ambition for the common good which alone makes a nation great. Unless the hearts of our people are right, America, too, will become engrossed in the materialism that is the undoing of civilization and the death of progress.

I often think we people of Kansas fail to realize the happy conditions under which we live, and thereby fail to make the most of them and their great possibilities. Our lines have been cast in pleasant places. We are blessed

beyond compare by the beneficence of the Supreme Architect. Living in our "grassy parallelogram of plenty," where peace and prosperity smile upon us; far removed from the strife and turmoil of an embattled world, we are prone to forget the red hate now dominant thruout a continent. We hear the faint echoes of war, but so far away are they that we sit in smug complacency and think that all is well with the world so long as God is in His Heaven. And so we fail fully to comprehend the blessed conditions under which we live. I do not pretend that Kansas is an Earthly Paradise; I do not think that the millennium has dawned on us in advance of the rest of the world; but I do believe that nowhere else on God's earth will be found a commonwealth of $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions of men and women who are so free from the greed, the materialism, the cruel selfishness that brutally tramples upon the rights of others. I do not think we can find anywhere a people with broader sympathies and nobler aims. I do not know of another place where so much Christian charity abounds—or where men dwell together in closer brotherhood.

And let us be thankful that while this spirit is dominant in Kansas, it is not confined to Kansas. At no time in the world's history have the hearts of men and women in civilized lands been so stirred, or have they given more freely of their means, or of themselves, to the relief of suffering. The "still sad music of humanity" that in the Middle Ages smote upon deaf ears is heard today. This world of ours becomes a braver, truer, nobler world, day by day, whatever pessimists and cravens choose to say and profess to believe. It is not calling in vain for the Good Samaritan who will stop and bind up the wounds of the afflicted and minister to the wants of him who has fallen by the wayside.

History records nothing more inspiring than the untiring efforts, thru all the changes of the centuries, of those men and women who have labored to lift the human

race out of ignorance and vice and misfortune into a higher, happier, nobler existence and unite it in the "bond of brotherhood." And Masonry ever has led in this service.

Despite the atrocities in war-torn Europe, we still can believe that at no time in the history of humanity has the spirit of fraternity so swayed the hearts and minds of mankind as in this day. It leads the march of our advancing civilization. And I believe it will constantly grow broader and broader in its application. Today the spirit of charity is not content with binding up the wounds of the man who falls into the hands of robbers on the road to Jericho, but it foresees the danger and makes the road safe. The true spirit of fraternity is not content with relieving a distressed brother; it is only satisfied when it prevents distress. Modern fraternity is shamed by the bread line. It seeks to prevent any worthy man becoming an object of charity.

The spirit of brotherhood which makes democracy possible anticipates danger and prevents trouble. It is the spirit of personal service now exerted in behalf of the whole community. That is the spirit of true Masonry and more and more is it becoming the spirit of America. We have builded gigantic fortunes, largely by accident; but less and less does the mere material weight of wealth dominate our thought and excite the imagination of our people. More and more are we demanding of our rich men an accounting of their stewardship. More and more are we insisting upon fair dealing and simple justice for the weak and humble. And more and more do Wealth and Power realize their responsibility. We are a long way from the dawning of that Perfect Day to which the eye of the Christian ever is turned, but in America, at least, we find signs of a growing spirit of justice and fairness that bids us hold fast to our faith in the ultimate triumph of righteousness.

And we as Masons, believing in a world-wide charity and a universal fraternity, must seek first of all to banish

from our hearts and from the hearts of our fellow countrymen, those twin devils—Hate and Fear—the twain that brings war and havoc to nations, and desolation and despair to human happiness. With that love in our hearts which is the basis of our order, with courage to do the right, tho the heavens fall, with faith in God and in our fellows, democracy in America is safe, and that day of “the parliament of man—the federation of the world,” is not far distant.

So Mote It Be.

THE END.



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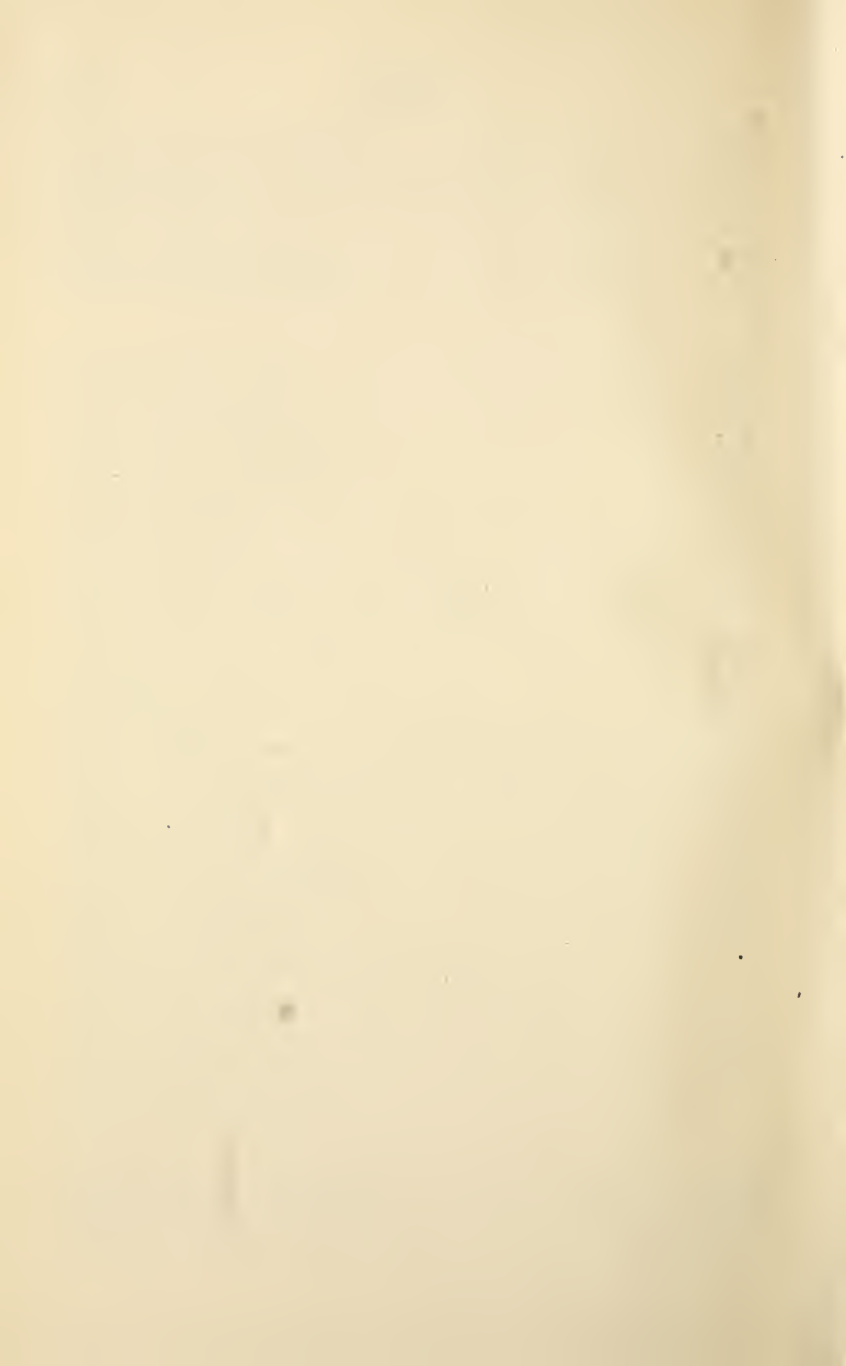
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